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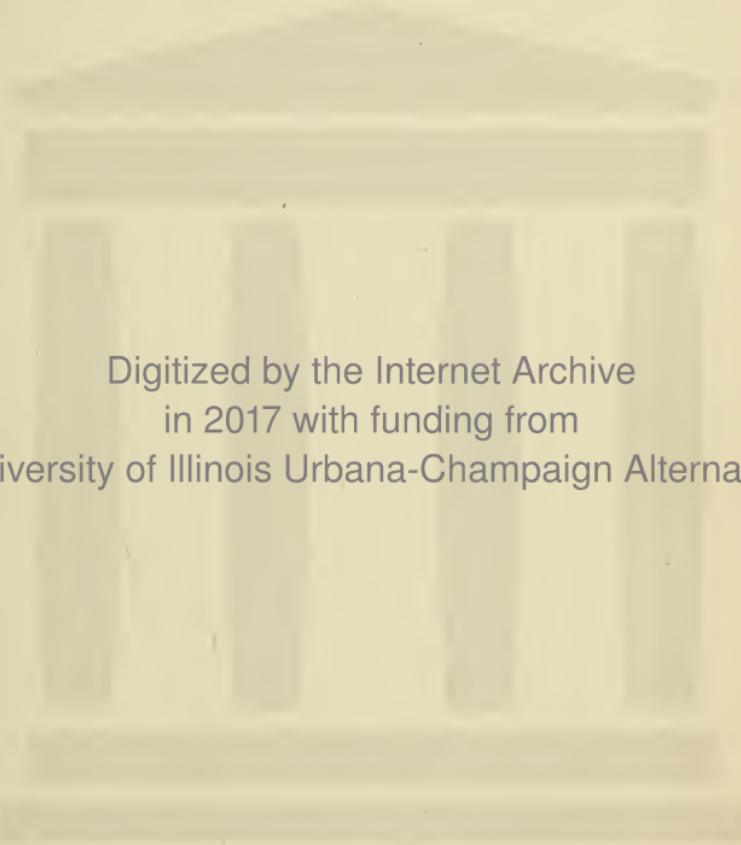
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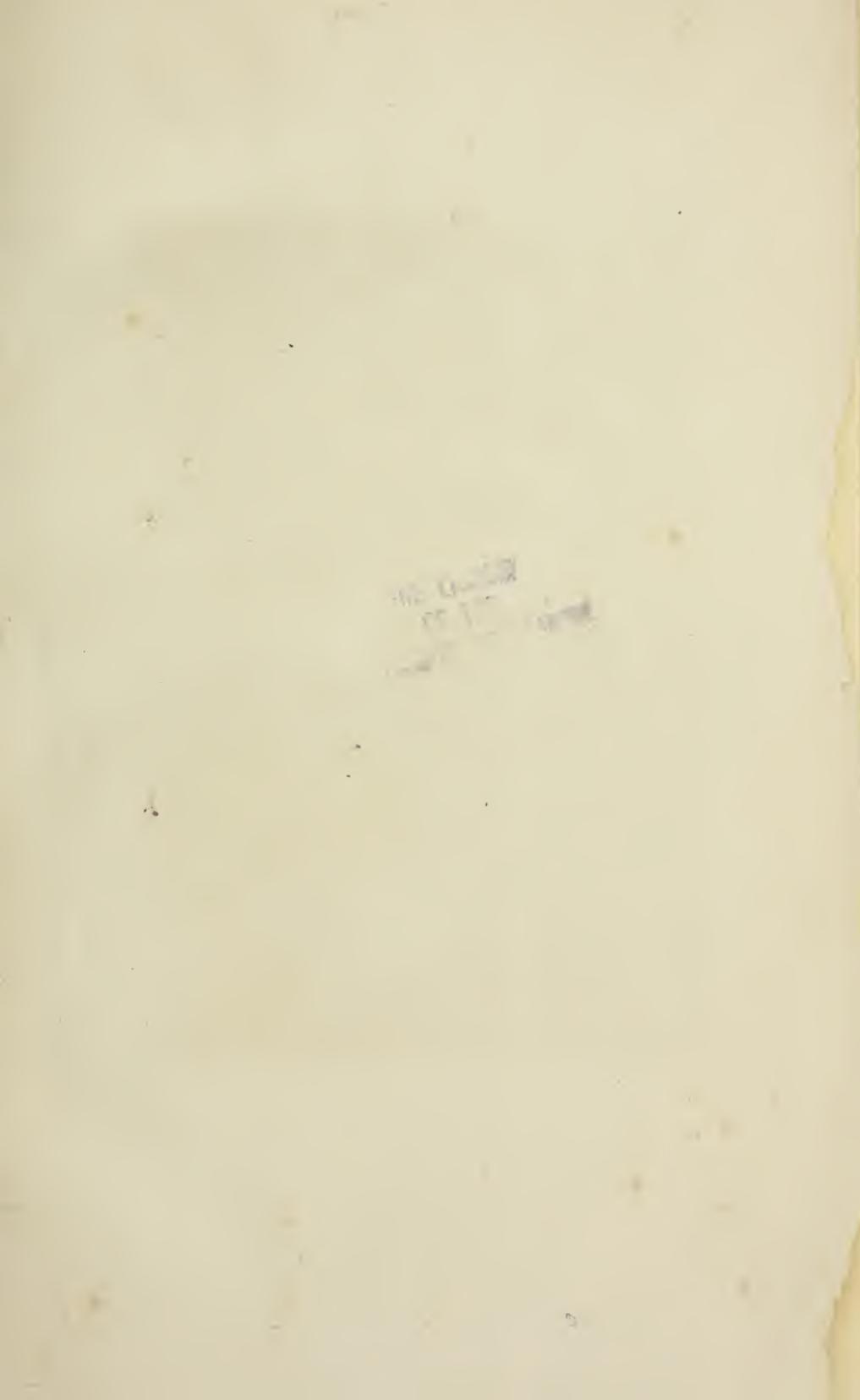
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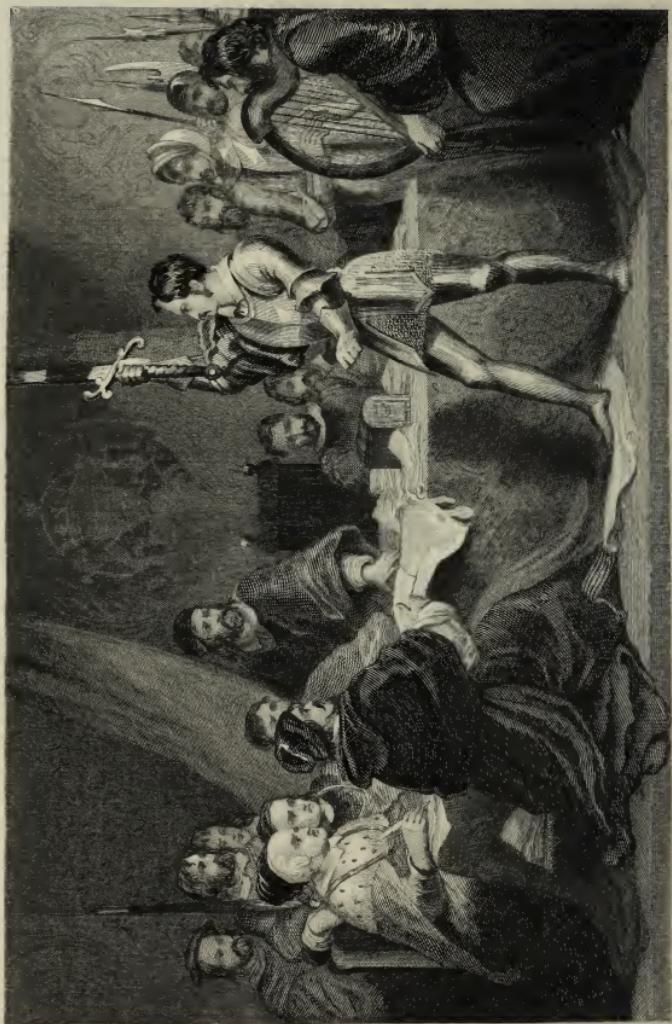
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BY MISS CORNER,

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,—OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL,—IRELAND,—SCOTLAND,
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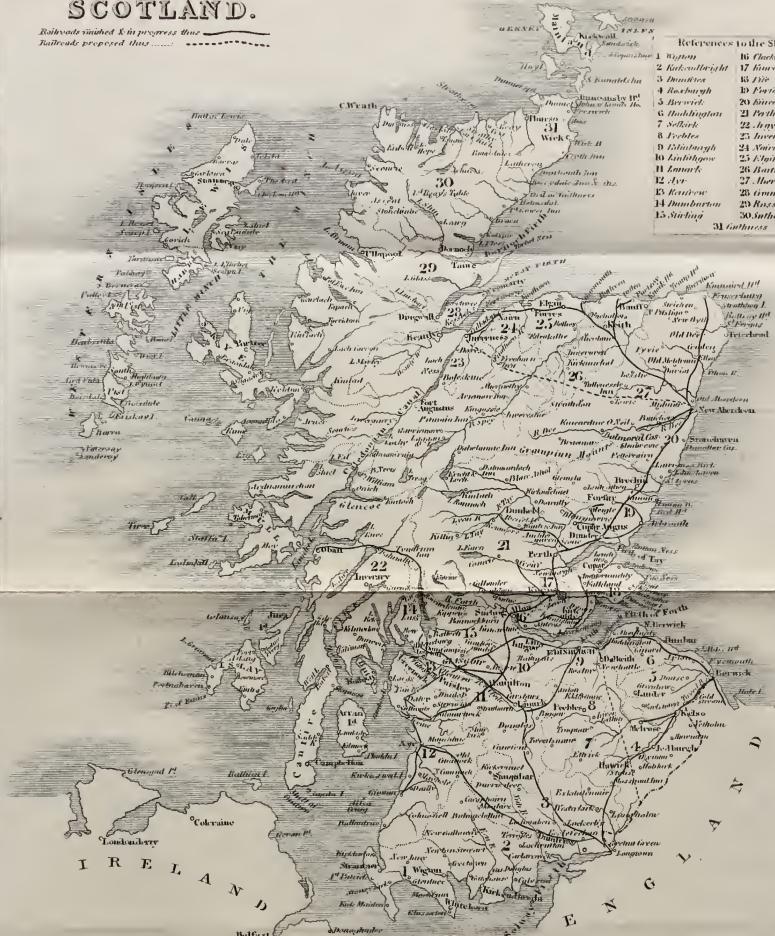
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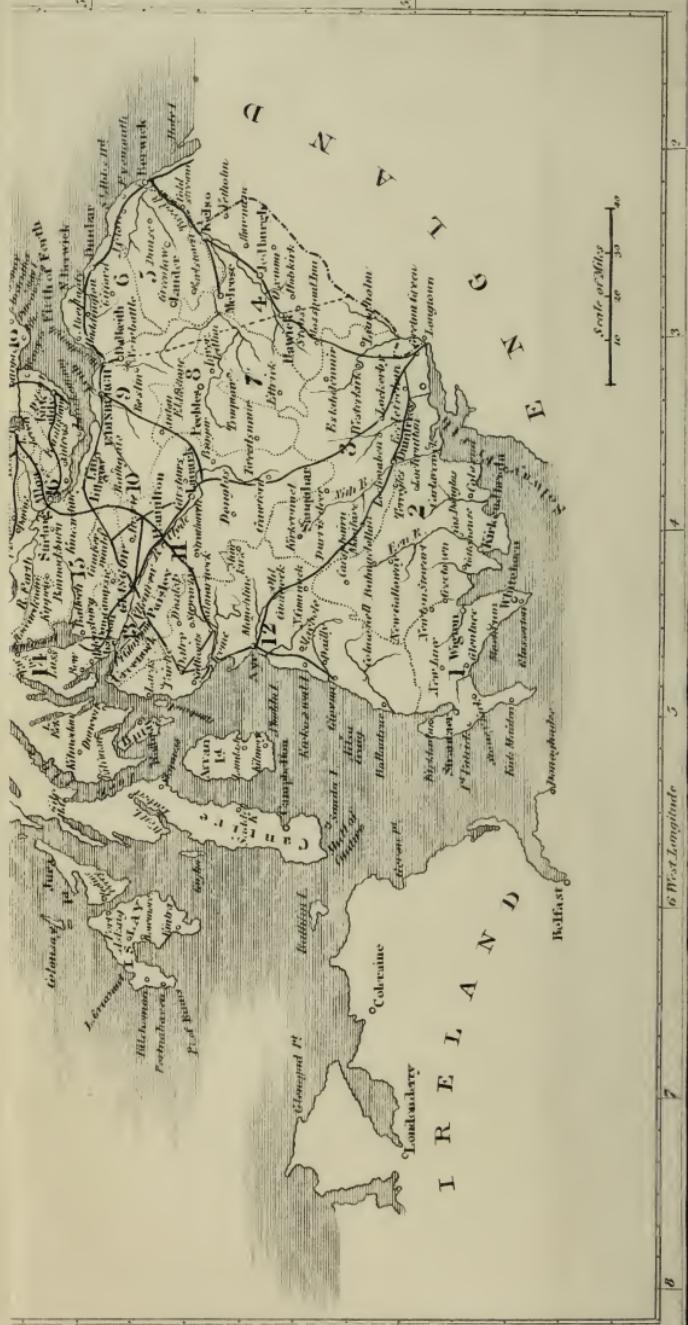
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Scale of Miles



THE ANCIENT CALEDONIANS, PICTS, AND SCOTS.

IN ancient times, Scotland was a wild country, covered with forests, the western part being quite uninhabited, while the north and east were peopled by barbarian tribes, supposed to have emigrated from that part of Europe formerly known by the name of Scandinavia, which comprised the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. At length it happened that a different race of people, called Scotti, or Scots, many of whom had settled in Ireland, passed from that country to the west of Scotland, where, finding there were no inhabitants to dispute possession of the soil with them, they fixed their abode, and became the founders of the Scottish nation.

The Romans gave to the people of North Britain the name of Caledonians, which word means, dwellers in the woods; and after they had made themselves masters of South Britain, they led their armies into the southern part of Caledonia, which they conquered, and made subject to the Roman government. They built a line of forts across the country from the mouth of the Forth to that of the Clyde, in order to confine the natives to the mountainous regions beyond; and colonies of South Britons then settled on the conquered lands; but the Caledonians soon broke through the line of forts, and recovered some part of their territories. After this, the Romans constructed another wall, from the mouth of the Tyne, in Northumberland, to the Solway Frith,

which they agreed to consider as the boundary of their dominions, although they still kept possession of some military stations beyond it, in order to guard South Britain from the inroads of the Caledonians.

The Romans ruled in Britain nearly four hundred years, during which period, very little was known of the fierce natives of Caledonia, except that they sometimes forced their way into the south, for the sake of plunder; and as these incursions became more frequent, after the departure of the Romans, Vortigern, and other British princes, applied to the Saxons, begging they would come and help them to defend their country.

Meanwhile, the Scots from Ireland had planted a colony in the west of Scotland, and had become so numerous, that they formed quite a distinct nation from the original people, who were known by the name of Picts, as well as Caledonians; so that the country was divided between two nations, the Picts being in possession of the eastern, the Scots of the western, shores.

There were also some descendants of the British colonists in that part which had been possessed by the Romans, and was called Clydesdale; and when the Saxons had established themselves in Britain, they also obtained a large tract of the midland country, over which they long held dominion. It was the Anglo-Saxon king of Northumbria, Edwin, who built the castle of Edinburgh, and founded that town, which, at first, was called Edwinsburgh; and the Highlanders to this day call the people of the Lowlands, Saxons.

It was probably about sixty years after the departure of the Romans, that an Irish prince, named Fergus, emigrated with a number of the Irish from Ulster, and joining his countrymen in the mountainous district now called Argyllshire, was elected king of the Scots, about the year 503; and from him descended a long line of Scoto-Irish monarchs, who ruled over that part of the country for several centuries.

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These people had brought with them the laws, manners, and customs of the Irish. They were divided into clans, each of which was headed by a chieftain, who was elected according to the Irish law of tanistry, and paid tribute to the king. Like the Irish, too, they had their Brehons and their bards; they built their huts of wattles; wore sheep skins, and coarse woollen garments manufactured by the women; and subsisted by feeding sheep and cattle.

We do not hear much of the wars between the Scots and Picts, till after the arrival of Fergus; therefore, we may suppose the Picts did not, till then, look upon the Scots in the light of intruding rivals; but when it was found that they were growing into a powerful nation, under the dominion of warlike princes, who shewed an inclination to extend their sovereignty over the whole country, they were regarded by the Picts with hatred and jealousy, and, for more than three hundred years, perpetual wars were carried on between the Scottish and Pictish kings; till, at length, towards the middle of the ninth century, Kenneth Macalpine, a Scottish prince, became master of the whole of the country, which then first took the name of Scotland. This event is said to have taken place in the year 842.

In the meantime, both the Picts and the Scots had been converted to Christianity by missionaries from Ireland. St. Columba, an Irishman of noble birth, was the first who visited Scotland on this holy errand, where his labours met with great success among the Picts, whose sovereign was the first person who renounced his pagan worship, and was baptized. It is very probable there were some Christians in North Britain in the time of the Romans, and most likely the Scots were not totally ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity, as many Christians must have come among them from Ireland, after the time of St. Patrick, who flourished a century before Columba; but, however that might

be, the Christian religion was not fully established till the middle of the sixth century.

St. Columba founded a celebrated monastery in the island of Iona, one of the Hebrides; and there are still to be seen monastic ruins belonging to that establishment. There also he instituted an order of monks, called Culdees, who were subjected to very strict rules, wore sheep-skin clothing, and supported themselves entirely by the labour of their own hands. They were the clergy of Scotland in the early days of Christianity in that country; but as they differed in some respects from the church of Rome, and did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, they were, in after years, very much persecuted. St. Columba founded as many as a hundred monasteries on different small islands, which were chosen in preference to the mainland, that the holy inmates might be the more secluded from the busy world.

After the accession of Kenneth Macalpine to the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots, we hear no more of the Picts; and this has caused some writers to affirm, that they were all destroyed; but it is far more likely that the two nations then mingled together under the common name of Scots, and became one people; so that the customs of the Picts, and even their very language, were soon entirely lost. It is not to be believed that Kenneth, who did not gain the throne altogether by conquest, but partly by inheritance, (his grandfather being a Scot, and his grandmother a Pict,) would exterminate a race of people to which his ancestors, on one side at least, had belonged.

It was not long after Kenneth had established the Scottish monarchy, that the warlike natives of Scandinavia, who were, at that period, called Danes, began to invade the coasts and islands of Scotland. Their chiefs were usually styled Sea kings, for they were, at one time, the only people in Europe who properly understood the art of navigating

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vessels on distant voyages, and of equipping them so as to withstand the dangers of the seas.

Norway, about this time, had fallen under the dominion of Harold Harfagre, a great warrior, who forced many of the Danish and Norwegian princes to submit to his authority; but there were a great number of bold chiefs and others, who were too proud to become the vassals of the conqueror; they therefore sought their fortune on the sea; and, by their daring deeds on this element, became the terror of all the maritime nations of Europe.

A band of these adventurers had settled in Ireland, where they had formed themselves into a free and independent nation; while others had taken possession of the Orkney Shetland Islands, formerly inhabited by the Picts. They were followed thither by Harold, the king, with a powerful fleet, who deprived them of these islands, and gave them to one of his nobles, on whom he bestowed the title of Earl of Orkney, on condition that he should hold his earldom in vassalage to the crown of Norway. This first earl of Orkney was the father of Rollo, the first duke of Normandy.

Thus the northern isles were peopled and governed by Norwegians; and the western islands, which included the isle of Man and the Hebrides, were also conquered, and taken possession of about the same time, by another band of the same people, under the command of a nobleman, named Ketil, who was sent on this expedition from the Orkneys, by Harold Harfagre, with instructions to subdue and govern them, as the king's lieutenant. But when Ketil had completed the conquest, he was tempted to keep the islands for himself; and therefore made friends with the Irish, who were their principal inhabitants, promoted marriages between his soldiers and the maidens of the islands, and made himself an independent sovereign, with the title of Lord of the Isles.

From Ketil descended a long line of petty princes, who maintained their independence for many centuries, during

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which, the islands under their government became populous and flourishing. They are even said to have been famed for several manufacturing arts; so that some ancient poet, in describing the magnificent dress of one of his heroes, says that his garments were spun by the Sudereyans, or southern islanders, meaning the inhabitants of the isle of Man and the Hebrides; by which, it would appear that they made a finer sort of cloth than the coarse woollen generally used.

The Danes and Norwegians made frequent voyages to and from the isles, adopting the most simple contrivances to guide their course on the ocean. For instance, there was a celebrated Norwegian chief, who being about to make a voyage from the Shetland Isles to Iceland, took on board his vessel some crows; and when he had sailed, as he supposed, a considerable distance, and had himself lost sight of land for some time, he sent up one of his crows, which immediately flew towards the point from which he had departed; and by this the chief was able to guess how far he had gone, as it was calculated that the bird, when on high, could see the land from which it had been brought.

The chief kept on his course, and, after some time, sent up another crow, which came back to the vessel; so that he knew there was no land in sight. A third time he tried the same experiment, and then the bird flew directly onward, and the chief, steering his ship in the direction taken by his winged guide, arrived in safety at the island.

MACBETH AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

1039 to 1286.

DURING a period of two hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Kenneth Macalpine and that of Macbeth,

the history of Scotland recounts little but one continued series of wars with the Danes; therefore it was not likely there should have been any great improvement in the internal state of the country, or the manners of the people, who still lived according to the rude habits of the Irish clans. In the interval, however, the Saxons, who inhabited the territories of Strathclyde, Teviotdale, and the three Lothians, that is, East, West, and Mid Lothian, were subjected to the crown of Scotland; but the Scottish king held this part of the country, and some possessions in the north of England, in vassalage of the king of England; and this was the plea on which Edward the First, at a subsequent period, founded his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland.

There are few who have not heard of Macbeth; but many know nothing more about him than that he is stigmatized as being the murderer of the good king Duncan, and the usurper of his throne. These crimes are laid to his charge, but it is by no means certain that he was guilty of them, for Duncan and Macbeth were cousins, both being grandsons of Malcolm the Second; and, according to the rules of Scottish succession, Macbeth had the better right to the throne. Duncan, however, succeeded, and had reigned six years, when he was murdered, while on a journey, but not in Macbeth's castle, as it is represented in the play of our great poet, Shakspere, who did not adhere strictly to historical facts. Duncan, however, was murdered; and it was generally believed that the deed was done at the instigation of his cousin; but as it was never proved, many persons doubt whether Macbeth had any participation in it.

When Duncan was dead, his two sons, Malcolm and Donald Bane, fled from Scotland, the one to England, where Edward the Confessor was then reigning, the other to the Western Islands, while Macbeth took possession of the throne. His reign was tranquil and prosperous; he was beloved by the people, and gave so much encouragement to

agriculture and commerce, that Scotland had never before enjoyed so much peace and plenty, and had never been governed by a wiser or milder prince. Macbeth gave great attention to the encouragement of the herring fisheries, which supplied one of the chief articles of Scottish trade at that time, and was of great importance, as indeed was every thing that helped to bring money into so poor a country. When Macbeth had been on the throne about twelve years, he assumed the pilgrim's gown and staff, and made a journey to Rome, perhaps to atone for the murder of Duncan, if he had really been a participator in that deed; and, it is said that his charities to the poor during his pilgrimage, caused his name to be celebrated with praise throughout all Christian countries.

In the meantime, Malcolm Caen Mohr, or Canmore, had been endeavouring to raise a party in his favour in England, in which he was assisted by the king, Edward the Confessor, at whose court he spent some time. Here it was that he saw a great deal of the polished manners of the French, and learned to speak their language; for Edward the Confessor had been brought up in France, and had introduced into his court the habits and manners of the society to which he had been accustomed in that country. Malcolm remained about fifteen years in England, which gave him an opportunity of observing the difference between the rude habits of the Scots, and the refined manners of the more civilized Normans.

At length, Malcolm re-entered Scotland at the head of a large army, to dispute the crown with Macbeth, who had returned from his pilgrimage, and who gave him battle near his castle at Dunsinane, but was defeated, and obliged to retire to another castle at some distance. Here he carried on the war for two years longer, when he was slain, and Malcolm ascended the throne in the year 1056.

This monarch was very desirous of introducing into

Scotland the same sort of laws and government that had been established by the Saxons in England; but some time elapsed before the feudal system superseded the laws that had been brought from Ireland by Fergus, and maintained by his successors; for it is not an easy matter to change the ancient institutions of a country, as the majority of the people are sure to be attached to the habits of their fore-fathers. At the time of the Norman conquest of England, a great number of persons fled into Scotland; and, amongst others, Prince Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon kings of England, with his sister Margaret, one of the best and most beautiful of England's maidens, who, in a very short time, became the bride of Malcolm, and queen of Scotland.

Being now allied to the Saxon royal race by the ties of relationship, as well as those of gratitude and friendship, Malcolm took up arms in their cause against William the Conqueror, and went into the north of England. The Normans, however, were too powerful to have much to fear from the opposition of the Scots, so that Malcolm could do no more than ravage the northern part of the country, and carry away a great many people, whom he afterwards reduced to the condition of slaves; and, for many years afterwards, there was not a village in the south of Scotland, where English slaves were not to be found.

At this period, the towns in Scotland were so mean and inconsiderable, that they would hardly be regarded as villages in the present day. People were deterred from building good houses while they were so constantly exposed to the invasions of enemies like the Danes, whose general practice it was to set fire to buildings of every description. Nevertheless, the Scots were indebted to Malcolm and his queen for great improvements, both in manners and morals, for Margaret was as pious and virtuous as she was accomplished, and dismissed from her service all those who did not conduct themselves with the utmost propriety, which

had a good effect upon the whole nation, as the people are always influenced by the example of their rulers.

The king had in his service many Norman knights, who, from various causes of complaint against William the Conqueror, had left England, and would have been very willing to join in any scheme to replace the Saxons on the throne; but the cause was hopeless, and the attempt too hazardous to be tried.

Malcolm was too prudent to continue in a war that would only have served to draw the vengeance of the fierce Norman conqueror on the Scottish people, without benefiting those for whom it was undertaken. In 1072, he was obliged to make a treaty of alliance with the English king; and Edgar Atheling, who was included in the pacification, put himself under the protection of his too-powerful rival. Still Malcolm was very glad to have at his court so many Norman nobles, because they were a check upon his enemies; therefore, he bestowed high honours and offices on them, as well as on the Anglo-Saxon, or English nobility, who had also sought refuge in Scotland.

As a taste for the luxuries of life was now beginning to dawn upon this hitherto uncultivated land, foreign merchants were encouraged to bring thither various commodities that had been before unknown among the Scots; and although none were rich enough to buy silk, and other elegant materials for dress, except the king and his nobles, yet the mere introduction of these costly articles into the country, was a great step towards refinement of manners, and, in a measure, conduced to the increase of commerce. It is very probable that some of the English and Norman nobles who settled in Scotland at this time, had grants of land made to them under feudal tenures, although the Scots themselves continued to hold their land by the Brehon laws, which did not bind them, like the feudal tenure, to military service; hence, it is probable that Malcolm laid the founda-

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ation of the feudal system in Scotland, although it did not become general till long afterwards.

Malcolm was killed in the year 1093, in a battle at Alnwick, fought in consequence of some disagreement with William Rufus; and his amiable wife died on the day she received the news of this fatal event. In the same year, Magnus, king of Norway, made some expeditions against the Scottish islands: he landed first on the Mainland, the largest of the Orkneys, and having deposed the earl, he proceeded to the Western islands, all of which he attacked and plundered, except Iona, which was reverenced as a place of peculiar sanctity, even by the fierce and warlike Northmen.

Magnus next directed his hostilities against Scotland, but after having committed some few depredations, a peace was concluded, on condition that the Scottish monarch should resign all the islands between which and the main land a vessel could be steered with a rudder. When this agreement was concluded, the artful Norwegian caused a very slight barque to be conveyed to a narrow neck of land which joins Cantire to Argyll, but which being covered with the sea at high water, the peninsula is, for a short time, transformed into an island. Here he sat in his little boat till the tide came in, with the helm in his hand, ready to seize the favourable moment; which having arrived, he actually steered himself over the isthmus; and, in consequence of this feat, claimed Cantire, as coming within the terms of the covenant.

The Scottish historians do not quite agree as to which king it was who gave up the sovereignty of the islands, which seems sometimes to have belonged to the kings of Norway, sometimes to those of Scotland; but, according to the most probable account, it was Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, who, ever since his father's death, had led a wild kind of life in the Hebrides, not liking the new fashions

that had been introduced into Scotland by his polished brother, whom he never visited.

As soon, however, as he heard that Malcolm was dead, he hastened to Scotland, in the hope of being made king, for his brother's sons were still very young; and, on that account, Donald Bane is sometimes called an usurper; but the laws of Scotland admitted of an uncle reigning before his nephew, if the latter were not of age to govern; therefore, it does not appear that Donald Bane acted without a very plausible pretext.

This prince was too barbarous to approve of the alterations that had been made by the elegant taste of Malcolm and Margaret, and was angry at finding so many foreigners about the court, instead of the rude natives of the country. He therefore issued a decree, the object of which was to banish all the English and Normans from Scotland; but as most of them held lands, and had great numbers of vassals, whom they could arm in their defence, they would not quit the country, but deposed the king, who was obliged to take refuge in the isles; and Duncan the Second, probably a natural son of Malcolm, was made king; but he being shortly after assassinated, Donald was restored. He was again dethroned, through the influence of the English, and was imprisoned, and deprived of his eye-sight; and Edgar, a son of Malcolm, was placed on the throne.

Edgar reigned about nine years, when he died, and was succeeded by his brother, Alexander the First, who ascended the throne in the year 1106.

Scotland, at this period, was divided into thirteen districts, each under the government of a thane, or lord, whose power was almost independent of that of the king. Each clan had its own particular customs, and was governed by its own regulations or laws; so that a national assembly, or parliament, to make laws for the whole country, was in Scotland entirely unknown.

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The foreign trade of Scotland, in the time of Alexander the First, must have been considerable, as he possessed luxuries that were highly esteemed even in richer and more civilized kingdoms. He rode a fine Arabian steed, with splendid velvet trappings, and he had a rich suit of Turkish armour, of great value. We may, therefore, suppose that he had more wealth than most of his predecessors. His riches were partly derived from the valuable pearls that were found in the rivers of Scotland, many of which are said to have equalled those of the east in size and beauty; therefore it is highly probable that the king made a profit of them, since they were much esteemed over the whole of Europe. It is supposed that money was first coined in Scotland in the reign of Alexander the First; but it was not in general use, for almost all trade was carried on by barter, or by traffic, which consisted of the interchange of cattle and slaves, which bore a fixed value, and were called live money.

Alexander the First distinguished himself also by his liberal donations of land and jewels to the church. The word jewel, in those days, did not mean exactly what we should understand by it now, but was applied to many things that were rich and valuable; so that various articles were called jewels, merely because they were ornamented with gold. This king reigned about eighteen years, and died in 1124.

The next king of Scotland was David the First, the youngest son of Malcolm Caen Mohr, a prince who possessed great advantages of education, having been brought up in the court of Henry the First, of England, who married Malcolm's daughter, the good queen Matilda.

About this time, Ronald, earl of Orkney, built the magnificent cathedral of St. Magnus, in Kirkwall, the capital of Pomona, the chief of the Orkney islands, which was regarded as a very wonderful structure, considering the

poverty of the territory in which it was erected. The earl, unable to build so fine and costly an edifice out of his own private wealth, raised a sufficient sum, by making an arrangement with his tenants, by which they were to pay him down a small fee for every acre, or, as it was then called, every ploughate, of land they held, which was then to descend to their heirs without the payment of the accustomed fines to their liege lord.

Most of the land in the Orkney islands was held by feudal tenure; and whenever a proprietor died, his estate went back to the earl, who kept possession of it till it was redeemed by the heir at any price the earl chose to set upon it. The tenants, therefore, were not averse to the abolition of this arbitrary custom, by a present payment for their lands; and thus the funds were raised for building the cathedral.

The fate of the earl of Orkney was singular, and is connected with the story of Sweyn, the Danish pirate, celebrated in the history of Ireland as the hero of the scarlet cruise. This bold chief was one of those who were called Sea Kings, and was the lord of Gairsay, a little island, about four miles from the bay of Kirkwall, where he dwelt in the midst of his lawless people, who seem to have been farmers at home and robbers abroad; for before the chief and his men set out on their summer cruise, they sowed their seed, and left it to ripen while they were plundering the neighbouring shores. On their return, they shared the spoils they had taken, reaped their crops, and settled themselves for the winter with their families, in Gairsay.

It happened on one occasion, that Sweyn, being alone in his boat, was chased by the earl of Orkney, with whom he was at variance, and was obliged to row with all his might till he reached a small uninhabited island, where he ran his boat into a cave formed in the rock by the action of the sea, and thus concealed himself from view till his pursuers

had passed; and as the tide had risen by the time they came up, so as to hide the entrance of the cave, he heard them expressing their wonder at his sudden and mysterious disappearance, for they could not discern any place where it seemed possible that he could have hidden himself.

As Sweyn was not seen in the Orkney islands for some years afterwards, it was supposed he was dead; till, one day, a vessel, having the appearance of a merchant ship, was seen coming from the west with two or three men on deck, who pushed their vessel towards the shore of the island of Rousay, where the earl of Orkney dwelt, and hailed the people who were walking quietly about, and asked if there was any news. The people said the earl was gone to the other side of the island to hunt seals, on which the men directed the ship's course towards the spot named, and as soon as they discovered the earl and his hunting party, Sweyn himself, with a number of armed men, rushed from the hold of the vessel, where they had been concealed, and slew every one except the earl, whom they made prisoner, and carried away with them.

He was never heard of again; but it is supposed he was placed in a monastery by Sweyn, who, on being reconciled to his successors, returned to his little island of Gairsay, and, for many years, was the most formidable pirate of the age. He was killed at last, in an attack on the city of Dublin, in the year 1159.

Whilst David was in England, he had engaged to maintain the right of king Henry's daughter, the empress Matilda, to the English throne. Matilda was his niece, and about eleven years after he had become king of Scotland, he was called upon to fulfil his promise, for Henry had died, and Stephen had usurped the crown of England. Matilda came from France, with a numerous train of nobles, to assert her claim, and the whole country was distressed by the civil wars that followed in consequence. King

David engaged in these wars, but was defeated in a famous battle, fought on Cudton Moor, near North Allerton, in Yorkshire, known in history as the Battle of the Standard; and so called, from the English ensign, which was the mast of a ship fixed on a four-wheeled carriage, to which were attached several banners, which were then considered to be sacred, and were seen waving on high, in the midst of the field of battle.

David the First was one of the best kings who ever reigned over the country. During his residence in England, he had acquired a knowledge of several branches of science which had hitherto been unknown in Scotland, and which enabled him to introduce great improvements in agriculture, horticulture, and architecture. He gave encouragement to foreign commerce, and was extremely liberal in the endowment of religious establishments, which was a benefit to the country, in its then rude and unsettled state, as affording to the members of those establishments abundant means for extending their charities towards the numerous poor.

By this time, monasteries had become very numerous over the whole of Scotland, and many of them were richly endowed with lands, which were more highly cultivated than any other lands in the kingdom, the vassals and bondmen of the monks being secured in the possession of their farms and homesteads so long as they fulfilled the conditions on which they were held. As church and abbey lands were generally respected in time of war, it was then thought good policy in a monarch to make large grants to the church, since, by so doing, he was, in fact, protecting so much of his territories from the ravages that so often turn a fertile country into a melancholy wilderness. In those days, a convent was the surest place of refuge for those who were oppressed; and the safest resting-place for travellers.

It was this monarch who founded the abbey of Holy Rood, afterwards one of the royal palaces; and he was the

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first king who made Edinburgh one of his places of residence, Perth being, at this time, the capital of Scotland. This excellent monarch used to sit, on certain days, at the gate of his palace, and listen to the complaints of all those who chose to appeal to him for justice; for the king was, in those days, the supreme judge of his people. David died in the year 1153, after a prosperous reign of twenty-nine years.

Malcolm the Fourth, the grandson of the late king, does not make much figure in history, for he was only twelve years of age when he ascended the throne, and died when he was twenty-four. The pirates of the Western Isles were, at this time, very troublesome neighbours to the Scots, for they had taken advantage of the weakness of the monarchy to establish among themselves a kind of independence, and they made no scruple of plundering the Scottish coasts, which they could easily approach in their light armed galleys, to the great annoyance of those who dwelt near the sea shore. The young king was absent for a long time in Normandy, with Henry the Second, who either persuaded or compelled him to give up his title to the territories his ancestors had held in Northumberland and Cumberland. He also did homage for his own district of Lothian, which had formerly belonged to the Saxons, but he never did homage for the whole kingdom of Scotland, as was asserted by Edward the First, when he claimed the right of sovereignty over that country.

The next king was William the Lion, a brother of Malcolm, and a much more noted personage than his young and timid predecessor. William had not been long on the throne before he quarrelled with the king of England, who refused to restore the territory of Northumberland, which Malcolm had been weak enough to surrender. In consequence of this quarrel, the Scottish monarch led his army across the border, and laid siege to Alnwick castle, where

he was made prisoner, by some English barons, and sent captive to the king, who would not restore him to liberty until he had consented to do homage for his whole kingdom, to acknowledge him as his lord paramount, and to place the strong castles of Berwick and Roxburgh in his hands, as a security for his fealty. On these hard terms he regained his freedom, and returned to Scotland as a vassal king.

Richard the First having succeeded his father on the English throne, gave up his right of sovereignty over Scotland, for a very large sum of money, to aid him in his expedition to the Holy land.

This was the age of chivalry in Scotland, as well as in England, and there were many brave Scottish knights among the heroes of Palestine; but the country was impoverished on this account, as the richest nobles went away to seek renown in the east, taking with them all the money they could raise, instead of remaining at home to employ their wealth in improving the condition of their lands and people.

The population of Scotland was composed of several distinct nations. The Norwegians were in possession of the isles; the Gaelic, or Celtic race, who were the descendants of the early inhabitants, occupied all the north, or highlands; while the people of Saxon and Norman origin possessed all the southern districts, and were thence called Lowlanders. Among the last were found the chief nobility, who had, by this time, become very powerful. Every Scottish baron had his strong castle and feudal domain; his vassals, retainers, and bondmen, like the English lords; and the language of the South was nearly the same as that of the Anglo-Saxons, while the Highlanders continued to use the original Gaelic, to wear the ancient dress, and to live according to the rude customs of their ancestors. They hated the Lowlanders, whom they called Saxons, and considered as intruders into the lands once belonging to their forefathers; and they held

in scorn the peaceful arts introduced by that people into the south, where trade and manufactures were making great progress, owing to the charters granted by the kings to the inhabitants of the royal burghs.

These burghs arose from small colonies of traders and artizans, who, in most cases, had purchased their freedom of their lords; for, in early times, every baron had a number of vassals, who worked for him at their several trades, and lived in hamlets close to the walls of his castle. At first they were slaves, and all they possessed or earned belonged to their masters; but, by degrees, they were allowed a share of the profits of their industry, and many grew rich enough to buy their liberty. These freedmen formed themselves into trading communities, and improved their villages, until they grew into towns; to which great privileges were, from time to time, granted by the kings, who knew how much the prosperity of the country depended on the encouragement given to arts and commerce. The earliest burghs in Scotland were Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling.

The inhabitants of royal burghs were tenants of the king, and the rents belonged to him, besides which, he derived a revenue from the duties on articles of traffic, and the custom called thirlage, by which the lord of the land was entitled to set up a mill, and the people were obliged to take their corn to it to be ground, and to pay a tax on every measure.

The population of the royal burghs was increased by the English, who were encouraged to settle in them, on account of the skill displayed by their inhabitants in various arts, particularly the manufacture of woollen cloth, which was carried on in several of the towns. Linen was also made in some places, but not in any considerable quantity. The trades, however, must have been numerous, for a charter was granted by William the Lion to the burgesses of Perth, which was still considered the capital of Scotland,

authorizing them to form themselves into guilds, or companies, of their several callings.

This wise and good monarch also granted to the inhabitants of Glasgow, then only a village, the privilege of holding a weekly market and an annual fair, which were great advantages in those days, when trade in general was carried on at fairs and markets; and this charter gave the first impulse to the rise of this now great commercial city.

William, who was more distinguished as a legislator than a warrior, was called the Lion, because he adopted a lion as the armorial bearing of Scotland; for, as every knight had his ensign, or coat of arms, so had every country.

William the Lion, after a reign of half a century, was succeeded by his son, Alexander the Second, whose reign was one continued series of wars with the lords of the Isles and the kings of England; for he wanted to reduce the former to dependence on the crown of Scotland, and to obtain from the latter the restitution of Northumberland and other English possessions. The Western Isles were still considered as belonging to Norway; and although the king of Norway had but little real authority over them, the Scottish king was anxious that he should resign his claim.

Alexander, therefore, offered to purchase the Hebrides, and the isle of Man, from Haco, king of Norway; but the latter refused to part with them, saying he did not want money, and was not inclined to dispose of any part of his dominions. Alexander, in consequence of this refusal, undertook an expedition against the Hebrides, where he was taken ill, and died in 1249, leaving a son, of his own name, only eight years old, to succeed him.

In earlier times, when the ancient laws brought from Ireland were in force, a child so young would have been excluded from the throne, and some other relative of the deceased monarch chosen to succeed him; but these laws were now discontinued, and the eldest son was the only

lawful heir; and if he happened to be an infant, a council was formed of the chief barons to conduct the government during his minority.

Henry the Third was reigning in England at this time; and as he had a daughter of about the same age as that of the young Alexander, it was thought desirable for both kingdoms that the royal children, neither of whom were yet ten years old, should be united. The marriage, therefore, was celebrated with great splendour and rejoicings, at the castle of the archbishop of York, who had the honour of entertaining an assemblage of the English, Scottish, and French nobility, on the occasion. Probably the archbishop would rather have dispensed with so expensive a mark of distinction, for, besides the many valuable presents he was obliged to make, of plate, jewels, and costly dresses, there were no less than sixty of his finest oxen killed for the wedding feast; and every other article of good cheer must have borne some proportion to this enormous quantity of beef.

Henry the Third was so ungenerous as to take advantage of the youth of the Scottish prince, to try to persuade him to do homage for his kingdom, thinking, by that means, to obtain a right of sovereignty over Scotland; but the noble boy replied, with a spirit beyond his years, that he had come to England to be married, not to discuss state affairs, which, at present, he should leave to his council. Henry was therefore thwarted in his ambitious designs.

One of the principal events in the reign of Alexander the Third, was his entering into a treaty with Magnus the Fourth, king of Norway, by which the Western Islands became united to Scotland. Haco, who had refused to sell these islands to Alexander the Second, continued, after the death of that monarch, to invade and plunder the coasts of Scotland; but Alexander the Third, as soon as he came of age, put himself at the head of his army, and the first time the Danes landed, he marched against them, and gained a

great victory over them, near the mouth of the Clyde; which was so severe a mortification to Haco, that he fled to the Orkney islands, where he died of grief. His son, Magnus, made peace with Alexander, and agreed to give him the Western Islands for a certain sum of money, to be paid as agreed on between them; so that these islands were annexed to Scotland, not by conquest, but by purchase; and the friendship between the two kings was strengthened by the marriage of their children, Eric, the prince of Norway, and Margaret, the princess of Scotland. The Orkney and Zetland islands still belonged to Norway, and were inhabited principally by people of that country.

Alexander was an excellent monarch, and was much beloved by his people. It was his custom to make an annual progress through his dominions, attended by his chief judge, his principal nobles, and a strong military force, and to hold a court of appeal in each county for the redress of grievances. All persons, without distinction of rank, might bring their cases before this court, and were heard by the king in person, who never failed to do justice to every one.

Many useful arts were cultivated in this reign, and some trade was carried on, particularly at Berwick, which was the principal port for foreign merchants. It was governed by a mayor and four provosts, who were magistrates; therefore, we may suppose it was a place of some importance.

About this time, coals began to be used in Scotland; but it is uncertain whether any mines were worked in that country till about seven years after the death of Alexander the Third, when one of the barons granted liberty to the monks of Dunfermline, to dig coals for their own use on his lands; but they were prohibited from selling any, by which it is evident, that coals were an article of trade at this period.

Alexander the Third was very unfortunate in his domestic affairs. His wife and all his children died before him, and

no one was left to inherit his dominions but a granddaughter, the only child of Eric and Margaret, called in history the Maid of Norway. The king married again, but very soon afterwards he was accidentally killed by falling down a precipice as he was riding along its edge on horseback, in 1286, after having reigned thirty-seven years.

This was a most melancholy accident for the Scottish nation, and the more so as the Maiden of Norway, the heiress to the throne, died on her voyage from that country; an event that left the crown open for disputation by all that could claim relationship with the royal race, and led to those unhappy wars that so long desolated the country.

The oldest Scottish song yet discovered is, a monody on the death of Alexander the Third.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE

1290 to 1305.

UP to this period, the history of Scotland possesses no greater degree of interest than belongs generally to the early history of any civilised nation; but we are now about to enter on a course of events that distinguishes this nation from most others, and will serve to prove that the Scots may rank among the bravest people in the world.

I have already noticed the various attempts that were made by the kings of England to establish a supremacy over those of Scotland, and to reduce them to the condition of vassal princes; but the Scottish monarchs succeeded in preserving their independence, till William the Lion, in order to regain his liberty, consented to do homage to Henry the Second. This act certainly placed Scotland, for the time,

under the dominion of the English sovereign; but its independence was fully restored by Richard the First, for a sum of money; in fact, it was bought back by William; and, after that, the kings of England had no longer any right or pretext to interfere in the affairs of Scotland. This consideration, however, did not prevent Edward the First from taking upon himself to decide the dispute that arose on the death of the Maid of Norway, and he asserted his right to do so, on the false ground of being lord paramount of Scotland.

Among the numerous candidates for the vacant throne were two, whose claims were superior to those of the others, so that the choice rested between them; the one was Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale; the other, John Baliol, the lord of Galloway; both were related to William the Lion, and the question was, which was the nearer relative.

The case stood thus: William the Lion had a brother David, who had three daughters, all of whom married, and left children. Baliol was the grandson of the eldest sister, Bruce was the son of the second; therefore, the question to be decided was, whether the right of inheritance belonged to the next of kin, who was the grandson, or to the heir of the elder branch, who was the great grandson of Earl David. There would be no doubt now in such a case; but, in those days, the law of succession was not very clearly defined; therefore, each party had his adherents, and prepared to support his pretensions by arms.

It was now that Edward the First came forward as umpire, and the Scottish nobles, being willing to avoid the miseries of a civil war, consented to leave the point to his decision; and, after much delay, and a careful investigation of all the circumstances, he pronounced in favour of John Baliol, who was crowned accordingly, not as an independent sovereign, but as a vassal king, subject to the authority of the king of England.

The new monarch soon found that he had a very tyrannical master; for it seems to have been the intention of King Edward to provoke him, by injurious treatment, into a rebellion, and then to seize on his dominions as forfeited to the crown of England, according to the feudal law, by which the estates of a rebellious vassal became the property of his liege lord. The scheme was, so far, successful; for Baliol soon grew tired of his vassalage, and entered into a league with the king of France, Philip the Fair, who promised to assist him to throw off his bondage; but Philip did not keep his promise; and Edward, who had only been waiting for some such opportunity, immediately prepared to punish his disobedient vassal; and, with that view, set out for Scotland at the head of his army.

Berwick was, at this time, on account of its trade, the richest and most populous town in Scotland, and it was the first that felt the evils of the war; for the king had no sooner reached the borders, than he laid siege to this opulent place, which was taken by storm; its inhabitants, to the amount of seventeen thousand men, were cruelly slaughtered, and the town itself was plundered by the soldiers.

Among the remarkable events that occurred during the siege of Berwick, was the defence of the Red Hall, which belonged to a company of thirty Flemish merchants, who held it under the obligation to defend it against the English, which they did with a valour that would have done honour to the most renowned heroes of the age; for they fought bravely to the last, and every one of them perished, in the hopeless attempt to save the hall from falling into the hands of the English.

A few of the Scottish nobles, whose territories were on the borders, joined with Edward for the sake, probably, of saving their lands from being laid waste; and, among others, was Robert Bruce, the former rival of Baliol, who

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was now in hopes that Edward might place him on the throne, should Baliol be deposed.

But he was disappointed in this expectation, for the English monarch intended that he himself should be king of Scotland. Edward, therefore, when he had gained a decisive victory over the Scots at Dunbar, and dethroned John Baliol, made a progress through the country as far as Aberdeen, to receive the submission of all the nobles, which was tendered with surprising readiness; for they saw it was useless to oppose him, supported as he was by an army far more powerful than any that could be raised in Scotland.

Having placed English soldiers in all the garrisons, and appointed officers to govern and keep possession of the country, the king returned to England, fully satisfied that his conquest was complete. But in that he was mistaken; for the Scots did not long tamely submit to the loss of their liberty, and different parties were soon formed, ready to revolt as soon as they could find an able leader; and such a one soon appeared. This was the celebrated William Wallace, a young man, of good family but small fortune, strongly attached to his country, and of a bold adventurous disposition. He was, therefore, the very man who was wanted to take the lead in restoring the Scots to liberty. Wallace was not only possessed of undaunted courage, but of great personal prowess, being tall and strong, and capable of bearing considerable fatigue. His mental qualities, like those of all great heroes, are sometimes overrated; but there is little doubt he possessed talents of a higher order than were commonly met with among the Scottish warriors of the age; and as soon as he came forward as the champion of his country, thousands gathered around his standard; so that he was soon at the head of a considerable army, consisting chiefly of the lesser barons, with their tenants, and volunteers of every description.

King Edward was, at that time, in Flanders; a circum-

stance that was favourable to the designs of the Scots; who, under the command of their chieftain, for some time met with unvaried success, and were joined by many of the greater nobles. Every day, the fame of Wallace increased; he gained a great victory at Stirling; and obliged the English governor to leave Scotland. The fortresses were surrendered to him; and he was made guardian of the kingdom, and conducted the government in the name of the king, John Baliol, who was a captive in England.

All these events occupied many months; and in the mean time, Edward, having heard of the insurrection, returned from Flanders, and marched towards the north, at the head of the finest army that had ever been seen in Scotland; for he was now resolutely bent on reducing the Scots to subjection.

When Wallace heard of the approach of this vast army, he ordered the whole country to be laid waste, from Stirling to the frontiers, that the English might find no provisions within that district; and they suffered severe distress in consequence; till some vessels arrived from Ireland, with supplies of meal, oats, and ale, which enabled them to continue their march to Falkirk, where Wallace and his army were encamped. Here a celebrated battle was fought, on the twenty-second of July, 1298, in which the Scots were totally defeated; a sad reverse for their brave and hitherto victorious chieftain, who immediately resigned his high office of Guardian of the Kingdom, and retired to the woods, hoping to rally his forces.

Edward had now very little difficulty in re-establishing his authority; and he took such measures as he thought best calculated to secure it, by abolishing all remains of the old Celtic customs, extending the feudal laws, and instituting a form of government as much like that of England as possible. Most of the revolted barons took the oath of allegiance to him, and were pardoned; but Wallace still

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refused to submit, and, for a while, maintained the contest against the English king, who offered a reward for his apprehension; and he was eventually betrayed by one whom he had thought his friend. This occurred in 1304, when he was conveyed as a prisoner to London, and was most ungenerously tried, and executed, for treason; although it was quite evident that, as he never had acknowledged Edward as his sovereign, he could not, with justice, be called a traitor.

ROBERT BRUCE.

1305 to 1314.

THE death of Wallace was a great loss to the Scottish patriots, who felt as if their last hope had vanished for ever; but there was another hero in Scotland, who proved a far more dangerous enemy to the English monarch, than the great chief he had put to death so unjustly; one who, as yet, had gained no credit among his countrymen, nor excited any fear in the mind of King Edward. This was Robert Bruce, the grandson of Bruce, the rival of Baliol; but he had not distinguished himself by any act of patriotism, and, at the time of Wallace's execution, was serving in the English army.

This young man was now heir to the crown of Scotland; and he saw no reason why he should quietly submit to be deprived of an inheritance to which he thought himself entitled. He therefore entered into a secret correspondence with the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was the Primate of Scotland, to settle with him as to what course of conduct it would be best to pursue, in order to destroy the English

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supremacy, and obtain the throne as his own lawful inheritance.

There was, however, another nobleman, named Sir John Comyn, who was related to the royal family in a degree that made it questionable which of the two had the better right to be king. Circumstances made it necessary to reveal the designs of Bruce to this baron, who agreed to give up his own claim, and support that of his rival, on condition that the latter, if successful in gaining the crown, should surrender to him all his private estates. This compact being made, Bruce returned to the English court, there to stay till all was arranged for the execution of the plot.

In the meantime, Comyn, repenting of the agreement he had made, gave secret information of the whole conspiracy to King Edward; and Bruce would have been arrested, had not some kind friend given him timely warning of his danger; on which he set off, with all secrecy and speed, to Scotland, pressing forward, night and day, till he reached the borders.

Under the circumstances, it was hardly possible for him to avoid a quarrel with his cousin, Comyn, who had acted so dishonourable a part; still it was necessary they should meet, that they might come to an understanding with regard to their former agreement, for Bruce was now at a loss to know whether Comyn intended to oppose his pretensions to the throne. As both were fiery in temper, it was thought best for their mutual safety that the interview should take place in a church, which few men would dare to violate by shedding blood; and they met, accordingly, in the church of the Minorite Friars, at Dumfries, each leaving his attendants outside. What took place between them, is not certainly known; but Bruce presently came forth alone, and much agitated. "I doubt," said he, "I have slain Comyn." "You doubt," exclaimed one of his fierce followers, "then I will make sure;" and entering the church,

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he killed the unfortunate baron, whom Bruce had only wounded.

The act of murdering a man in a place so sacred, was regarded with such horror, that Bruce lost many friends in consequence; yet he had now no alternative but to go to war without further delay, or to submit to the punishment due to his crime. He therefore took up his abode in a peasant's hut, where he managed to conceal himself from his enemies, till he had collected a sufficient force to enable him to come forth boldly, and declare his purpose of freeing Scotland from the power of the English, and of taking possession of the throne of his ancestors.

Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1306, and immediately took the field with all the partizans he could assemble; but they were few, and his cause was generally regarded as hopeless. He was defeated in his first engagement with the English, by the earl of Pembroke, near Perth, and obliged to seek shelter in the woods, with about five hundred followers; and, for many months, these noble fugitives subsisted by hunting, and had no better houses than they could themselves form of the trees of the forest. To add to their difficulties, they were joined by a party of their wives and daughters, who preferred sharing the distresses of their husbands and fathers, to the risk of falling into the hands of the English.

The care of providing for their kinswomen was a far greater source of anxiety to the houseless wanderers, than their own difficulties; and, at length, it was found necessary to send them away; therefore, Nigel Bruce, one of the king's brothers, was deputed to conduct them to the castle of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, which he was to defend as he best could.

The winter was now approaching, and Bruce became anxious to find a place of retreat, where he and his friends might remain in safety during that inclement season. He

thought of the Western Isles, but it was difficult to reach them; for almost the whole of Argylshire was under the dominion of the lord of Lorn, a powerful chief, whose wife was an aunt of that Comyn whom Bruce had killed; consequently, she was one of his bitterest enemies.

Many were the dangers encountered by the patriotic band, in crossing this hostile country. At length, the greater part of them succeeded in reaching the island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, the inhabitants of which were a simple people, who lived by feeding cattle, and were so kind and hospitable, that they readily consented to furnish provisions for the king and his followers during their stay.

Meanwhile, many of Bruce's friends had been made prisoners, and sent to England, where they had been put to death. Among these unhappy victims was the young and gallant Nigel Bruce, who had been forced to surrender Kildrummie Castle, from which the ladies had escaped to some place of sanctuary; but in this barbarous war, so little regard was paid to sacred rights, that most of them were forcibly taken away, and confined in different prisons.

On the arrival of spring, Bruce quitted his little island, by the assistance of Christiana, queen of the Isles, who lent him thirty galleys, to convey him and his men from Rachrin to Scotland; but before he ventured to embark, he sent a trusty vassal to reconnoitre the coast, who was to light up a fire on a height, as soon as he found it would be safe to land.

For several days, Bruce looked out anxiously for the expected signal, which at length appeared, and he joyfully set sail; but when he reached the shore, he found the fire had not been kindled by his messenger, and that the whole coast was in possession of the English. Thus disappointed, he resolved on returning; but his brother, Edward, the bold hero who was afterwards made king of Ireland, declared he was willing to pursue the enterprise at all hazards; and,

being seconded by others of the same dauntless spirit, they immediately attacked a body of English who were near, and put them all to the sword.

From this time, success attended the patriots; but as Bruce's army was not strong enough to venture openly into the field, he was compelled to carry on a kind of irregular warfare, keeping with his nobles and adherents in the green woods, whence they issued forth to attack the enemy, whenever there was a prospect of doing so with advantage.

In this war, all feelings of self-interest were forgotten. Every man was ready to sacrifice his life and property to support the freedom of his country; and, in this spirit, many of the friends of Bruce destroyed their own castles, that they might not serve as fortresses for the English troops. Douglas castle, among others, was entirely dismantled by command of its owner: and when only the bare walls were left, he entertained within them the royal fugitive and his followers in the best manner he was able, and they were too happy in obtaining a good meal, to quarrel with the manner in which it was served up. The meat was placed on the board in huge masses, and the guests hacked it in pieces with their daggers.

At length, Bruce was relieved from his most formidable foe, Edward the First, who died at Burgh-upon-Sands, near Carlisle, on his way to Scotland with a large army; after which, the Scots quickly regained most of the principal fortresses, destroyed the English garrisons, took town after town, gained a great victory over the lord of Lorn; and, at length, Bruce was acknowledged throughout Scotland as the true and lawful sovereign of the kingdom.

Edward the Second then adopted measures for raising such an army as he thought the Scots would not be able to withstand. His vassals, from every part of his dominions, were called to his aid, each with a train of knights, squires, and retainers of every description; many of the Irish chiefs

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brought over their hardy clans, who were a match for the Scottish Highlanders; and, in short, there had scarcely before been seen in England, so numerous and so splendid an army.

The rendezvous was at Berwick, where, it is said, no less than a hundred thousand men were assembled; forty thousand were horsemen, three thousand of whom were clad in complete armour; and at the head of this mighty host Edward the Second entered Scotland. He marched on towards Stirling, where Bruce, who had been preparing to oppose him, could not muster more than forty thousand men, and most of these were on foot; yet so brave were they, and so highly animated by the cause in which they were engaged, that they beheld, without dismay, the approach of the English army, and made ready for the important conflict that was to decide the fate of Scotland. The battle which ensued was that of Bannockburn, fought on the twenty-fourth of June, 1314, and won by the Scots.

The battle of Bannockburn cost the lives of many brave English knights and nobles; but it was the means of restoring the independence of Scotland, and of securing Robert Bruce in full possession of the throne. During this time, the queen and her daughter, with some other ladies of distinction, had been prisoners in England; therefore, the gaining of the battle of Bannockburn must have been joyful news to them: nor was it long before they were restored to their anxious friends, for the earl of Hereford had been made prisoner by Edward Bruce, who would not consent to liberate him, until the ladies were released, and sent back to Scotland; the exchange was therefore made, and the royal warrior had again the happiness of embracing his beloved wife and daughter, from whom he had parted, nearly eight years before, under very different circumstances.

The noble Bruce was now really king of Scotland; but he was lord of a rude country, and a still ruder people, for

the former had been much neglected, and the long wars had left the Scots far behind the English in point of civilisation; and their habits and manners had acquired a degree of ferocity and rudeness, such as might naturally be expected from the rough mode of life to which they had so long been accustomed. The residences of the nobility were often in a shattered state, and many of them were not habitable. The towns were composed of the meanest and cheapest habitations that could be constructed; and even in the city of Edinburgh, many of the houses were mere wooden hovels, covered with straw, to which the inmates did not hesitate to set fire at the approach of an enemy, as the Caledonians used to do in the time of the Romans; and the dwellings of those who lived on the borders, and were, therefore, constantly liable to invasion, were but huts, constructed of poles and leaves, or with walls of clay; so that if they were destroyed, they could be built up again in a few hours.

The town of Berwick still belonged to the English, who were anxious to keep possession of it, because, from its position between the two kingdoms, it was a sort of key to both; therefore, Edward the Second had fortified the castle, and placed in it a strong garrison. It happened, however, that the governor gave some offence to one of the guards, who, in revenge, sent a secret message to the Scottish earl of March, offering to betray the town into his hands on a certain night, when it would be his turn to keep watch on the walls. The earl hastened to communicate this intelligence to the king, who sent his two trusty barons, Douglas and Randolph, to conduct the enterprise. The traitorous guard was true to his promise; the walls were scaled, and the castle and town, after some fighting, were taken. Bruce bestowed the government on Walter, the Lord High Steward of Scotland, who was married to the princess Marjory, his daughter; and, shortly afterwards, a truce was concluded between the English and Scots for two years; the first

season of peace that Scotland had enjoyed for a very long period.

This cessation of hostilities gave the king leisure to regulate the affairs of the kingdom, which had fallen into a state of sad confusion. He summoned a parliament at Scone, consisting of the earls, barons, and bishops, for no commoners were yet admitted into the Scottish parliament; and one of the first acts passed, was that for settling the succession to the crown, as the evil effects of a dispute on that point had been sufficiently experienced.

All the king's brothers were now dead; and he had also just lost his only child, the wife of the lord high steward; but she had left an infant son, named Robert, who was to succeed his grandfather, in case the latter should have no more children. This point being settled, the next object was to provide for the defence of the country; a law was, therefore, made, which enacted that every man should furnish himself with weapons and armour according to his station; and in order to prevent the evils arising from the absence of landholders from their estates, it was decreed that no Scot residing in a foreign country should be allowed to have the rents paid by his tenants sent abroad to him; a regulation which had the effect of obliging the most wealthy persons to live among their own people, and to spend their money in Scotland, instead of enriching foreign nations.

When the period of the truce was ended, Edward the Second again invaded Scotland, but was soon obliged to retreat for want of provisions, and being pursued into England by the Scots, he was again defeated, and the victors returned to Scotland laden with spoil.

This kind of warfare continued for some time, and was conducted chiefly by Randolph and Douglas, whose exploits, though they corresponded with the manners of the times, were often more like the feats of banditti captains than of military commanders; yet those doughty heroes were re-

garded as the best knights in Scotland. As long as they avoided coming to a regular battle, the Scots had great advantages over the English, because the hardy mode of living to which they were accustomed, enabled them to bear without inconvenience, fatigues and privations which would have been fatal to their opponents.

Their movements were not impeded by a quantity of baggage, for they trusted to chance for the supply of their wants, which were but few; a bag of oatmeal slung to their belts, or saddles, and a small flat piece of iron, on which to bake their cakes, were all they found needful to carry with them. For other food, they depended on plunder; but if oxen or sheep were not to be had, they could subsist for days on their oatmeal bread. They could sleep, in the worst weather, on the bare ground, wrapped up in their plaids, without tents, or shelter of any kind; and the exposure to rain and snow appeared to have no ill effect on the health of these hardy sons of the mountains.

In the meanwhile, there were great rejoicings in Scotland, on account of the birth of a prince, who was named David, and who was acknowledged throughout the kingdom as the only lawful heir to the throne. It was a great happiness to the king to have a son to inherit the crown that had been so dearly won; and in the year 1326, he assembled a Parliament, in which every member took the oath of fealty to the infant prince. This is believed to have been the first Scottish parliament to which the Burghs, or Boroughs, were allowed to send representatives, and it was assembled about sixty years later than the time when commoners were first admitted into the parliament of England.

Shortly before this, Edward the Second had agreed to a truce with the Scots for thirteen years; but soon after the miserable death of that unfortunate prince, hostilities were renewed by his warlike son, Edward the Third, who, for some time, met with so little success, that he was glad to



THE CORONATION OF THE INFANT KING DAVID 2nd & HIS QUEEN AT SCONE. Page 44.

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make peace; and, not long afterwards, the Scots lost their heroic and much beloved king, Robert Bruce. He died on the seventh of June, 1329, at his castle of Cardross, near Dumbarton, whither he had gone for change of air, his health having been much impaired by the hardships he had undergone.

His well-tried friend and companion, Lord James of Douglas, attended him in his last moments, and, at his solemn request, undertook to convey his heart to Palestine, by way of fulfilling a vow made by Bruce during the wars, that, if they should terminate favourably, he would make a pilgrimage to the Holy land. Douglas, true to his promise, set sail with the precious relic; but it never reached its destination; for the noble knight landed in Spain on his way, and was induced to join in an expedition against the Moors, in which he lost his life.

USURPATION OF EDWARD BALIOL,
TO THE
DEATH OF DAVID THE SECOND.

1329 to 1370.

THE Scots had now an infant king, who had a little bride, nearly of his own age; for one of the conditions of peace made between Robert Bruce and Edward the Third was, that the son of the former should marry the sister of the latter; and the marriage took place accordingly. The two children were crowned at Scone; while Randolph, earl of Moray, assumed the government of the kingdom, as regent agreeably to the will of the late king.

And now I must go back a little in my history, to tell you that John Baliol, who had been deposed by Edward the First, died in Normandy, shortly after the battle of Bannockburn. He left an only son, named Edward, who also resided in Normandy, but occasionally visited the English court. It happened that there were two English barons, Lord Wake, and Lord Henry de Beaumont, who had great cause of complaint against the Scottish government, on account of some estates to which they were entitled, being withheld from them, although Robert Bruce had promised to restore them when he made peace with Edward the Third.

The restitution of these lands had been delayed from time to time by the Scottish king, and now the regent seemed inclined to refuse the claim altogether; in consequence of which, the disinherited barons, with other lords in the north, who had also forfeited their lands in Scotland, formed a plot to dethrone the young king David, and place Edward Baliol on the throne. The English king was very well aware of this conspiracy, but was ashamed openly to countenance it, because he had engaged to protect the rights of David; and moreover, his own sister was the queen of Scotland; yet there is little doubt he wished to see Edward Baliol in the place of David, because he knew that Baliol would not resist his claim to the supremacy of Scotland, which he was sure would never be acknowledged by the family of Bruce.

The conspirators, therefore, with Baliol at their head, assembled in the north of England, and setting sail from the Humber, landed on the coast of Fife, whither an army of Scots was marching to oppose them, commanded by the earl of Mar, the new regent. The former regent, Randolph, earl of Moray, had died suddenly; and his death was a great affliction to Scotland, as he was the last of her three famous champions; Bruce and Douglas being the other two.

The earl of Mar had encamped upon Dupplin Moor, with

an army nearly ten times as numerous as that of Baliol, who did not muster more than three thousand men. The situation of Baliol was rendered still more hopeless, by the approach of another body of soldiers in an opposite direction; so that he found himself between two armies, each far stronger than his own. Becoming desperate at the prospect of his danger, he resolved upon the execution of a bold expedient. Followed by his men, he repaired, in the dead of the night, as silently as possible, to the Scottish camp, and fell suddenly on the sleeping soldiers, who were cut in pieces by hundreds; for they had not even time to get their weapons, or to discover that their assailants were inferior in numbers to themselves.

As soon as the day dawned, and the regent saw how many of his brave soldiers had been slain by a mere handful of men, he was so enraged, that he did not wait to form his remaining troops into any regular order of battle, but rushed on the enemy at once; and, by his imprudence, sacrificed some thousands more lives, together with his own, and gave Baliol a most unexpected victory.

After some further successes, Baliol was crowned at Scone, but his glory was quickly overcast, for the Scots were not disposed to see the heir of their gallant deliverer, Bruce, robbed of his inheritance by the son of one, who, in former times, had given them up to slavery; so that in less than three months, he was dethroned, and obliged to make his escape to the English border.

During his brief reign, he had made all the submissions to the king of England which that monarch expected; and had promised to give up the town of Berwick, to strengthen the English frontiers.

The young king and queen were now removed to France for safety, while Edward the Third went to the aid of his vassal, Baliol, and laid siege to Berwick. The garrison made a brave defence, and might have continued to hold out,

but that the regent determined to hazard a battle, which he lost, and the place was obliged to surrender. This was the battle of Halidon Hill, in which the Scots were so entirely defeated, and lost so many of their best leaders, that it was supposed they would not be able to offer any further resistance. Baliol was replaced on the throne, and not only did homage to King Edward, and took upon himself all the obligations of a feudal vassal, but surrendered to him all the southern portion of Scotland, as far as the old Roman line of forts. He restored the lands of the disinherited lords, to whom he owed his present dignity, and granted fiefs to other English barons.

But the friends of the young king again rallied; and again Baliol was driven from the kingdom; but I need not relate all the changes of fortune that befel the Scots during this variable contest, which was continued by Edward the Third, until he undertook his grander enterprise against France, when he left the Scottish war to be carried on by some of his barons.

At this time, the great leader of the Scots, and regent of the kingdom, was Sir Andrew Moray, a brave knight, who had fought side by side with Wallace, and had married a sister of Robert Bruce, the lady Christina, who was one of the heroines of the age. Sir Andrew was among the prisoners taken at the battle of Halidon Hill; and his lady, in the absence of her captive lord, defended the castle of Kildrummie, with the utmost bravery; nor was she the only lady endued with the martial spirit of the age; for Agnes, countess of March, a daughter of the noble Randolph, sustained a long siege in the castle of Dunbar, and was so fearless, that she used to go round the ramparts every day, directing the operations, in sight of the besiegers, and even speaking to them, sometimes in words of defiance.

At length, the young king, who had reached the age of eighteen, returned with his wife to Scotland, and resumed

his place at the head of the nation; but the country was, as you may imagine, in consequence of these wars, in a wretched state; and David was too young and inexperienced to remedy its disorders, as his father had done, by vigorous measures; so that some of the barons, taking advantage of his inability, raised themselves to power by the most unworthy means. There was a nobleman of the Douglas family, called the knight of Liddisdale, who, being jealous of some favours that had been granted by the king to Sir Alexander Ramsay, one of the bravest warriors in Scotland, watched an opportunity, to stab the good knight, and conveyed him, thus wounded, to a solitary castle, where he confined him in a dungeon, and starved him to death; yet this cruel and wicked man was raised to the honours that had been enjoyed by his victim, because the king was afraid of him, and dared not refuse his demands. Nor was this the only instance of such deeds of violence, for the government was so weak, that titled offenders were in no dread of punishment. But there were still greater evils to be endured than the unruly conduct of discontented nobles. The agriculture of the country had been so entirely interrupted by the war, that, in many parts, famine prevailed to a frightful extent. Large tracts of land that used to yield abundant crops, were now uncultivated, and overgrown with brambles and briars; for in all the wars of Bruce and his successors, the unvaried policy pursued by the Scots was, that of laying waste the country through which the enemy had to pass, in order that they might find neither food nor shelter.

As to Baliol, he was deposed for the third time; after which, he settled in the north of England, where he lived upon a pension granted him by Edward the Third, for doing the duty of keeping watch and ward against the Scottish borderers. He never returned to Scotland, and he left no children to perpetuate his claims.

DAVID THE SECOND.

1341 to 1371.

DAVID THE SECOND had been king of Scotland from the time he was five years of age, but we can hardly say that his reign commenced till his return from France, and, even then, he was too young to govern a country that was suffering under so many calamities. He had not been long in the possession of power, before he assembled all the military forces of the kingdom to invade England; thinking he could not have a better opportunity of doing so, than while King Edward was absent in France; he, therefore, marched his army across the border, and encamped near Durham, where he was met by the English northern barons, with their vassals, and a body of troops from the south, led, or rather accompanied, by Queen Philippa, of England, who greatly distinguished herself on this occasion; for although she did not appear in the field during this engagement, she accompanied the troops till they came in sight of the enemy, and made an animating speech to them; but the story of her being present at the battle of Nevill's Cross, is, I believe, without foundation.

At this battle, David the Second was made prisoner, and was taken to the Tower of London, with several of the most distinguished of the Scottish barons; amongst whom was the fierce knight of Liddisdale, who had so cruelly put to death Sir Alexander Ramsay. As soon as it became known in Scotland that the king was a prisoner, the Scots appointed as regent, during his absence, Robert, the Steward of Scotland, grandson of Robert Bruce. You may remember, that Marjory Bruce had a son, on whom King Robert settled the

succession, in case he should have no more children; but Prince David was born after that provision; so that Robert, the son of Marjory, although he was David's nephew, was much older than his uncle, and he it was who was now chosen regent of Scotland.

He was a far better ruler than the king, and immediately adopted the most prudent measures for strengthening and defending the northern portion of the country; but he was obliged to give up a great part of the south to the English, which was guarded by wardens stationed in castles on the frontiers. Much of this Lowland territory belonged to the house of Douglas, whose chief, William lord Douglas, had been bred up in France, and was still there, serving in the wars against Edward the Third. He was as great a warrior as his renowned ancestor, and no sooner did he return to his own dominions, than every Scot of his clan rallied around him, and the English were very speedily expelled from the lands of Douglasdale, Teviotdale, and Ettrick forest, of which Douglas was the lord.

About this time, the king of England began to find it impossible to sustain the expenses of being at war both with France and Scotland; therefore, he consented to a truce with the latter, and offered liberty to the captive monarch, on condition that he would acknowledge the dependence of the crown of Scotland on that of England. He even permitted him to visit Scotland, that he might consult his parliament on the subject; but the proposal was firmly rejected by that body; and the disappointed king, who was selfish enough to wish to surrender the freedom of his country, in order to regain his crown, was obliged to return to England.

Edward the Third was as anxious to establish his supremacy over Scotland, as Edward the First had been; and as he had failed with David, he made a treaty with the captive knight of Liddisdale, who was restored to his liberty

and possessions, on condition of allowing Englishmen to pass, at all times, through his estates; but the treacherous knight did not long live to enjoy the freedom he had so meanly obtained; for he was assassinated as he was hunting in Ettrick forest, and no one lamented his fate. Edward resolved to make another attempt to reduce the Scots to subjection, while he yet had their king in his power; therefore, he once more led his army in person towards the north, and crossed the borders, with a determination to destroy all before him; but this was almost a vain resolve, for he found little else but barren heaths, and deserted villages.

Not a farm was tenanted, nor a living creature to be seen, except now and then a band of Scottish soldiers, who would rush out, from some hidden retreat, upon a party of Englishmen, to whom they gave no quarter. Edward was so enraged at the little prospect there was of success, that when he did come to any inhabited place, he set fire to it without hesitation; and thus were destroyed several monasteries, and the town of Haddington, with its fine abbey church.

But, during this cruel violence, his soldiers were perishing with hunger; for it happened that some vessels which ought to have come to Berwick with a supply of provisions, had been lost in a storm; and the Scots took great care, by laying waste the country, that their enemies should find no food in any of the districts through which they were likely to pass; in consequence of which, the king was, at last, obliged to return, without having gained the least advantage by this disastrous expedition.

David had now been eleven years in England, but we are not to suppose he had passed all his time in prison; on the contrary, he had been treated with much courtesy, and had shared in most of the gaieties of the court; and was one of the four kings who dined with the Lord Mayor of London,

in the year 1357; but, at last, when Edward found he was not likely to gain any advantage by detaining him, he made an agreement with the Scots for his ransom, and suffered him to return to his own country. The payment of this ransom occasioned great distress in Scotland. The amount was one hundred thousand pounds, an enormous sum in those days, when money was about twenty times its present value; and this was to be raised among the people of a country impoverished by desolating wars, of which scarcely any man was old enough to remember the beginning; yet the Scottish parliament promised to pay it within ten years; and as this obligation was entered into by the burgesses, as well as by the clergy and nobles, we may conclude that all classes of people were equally willing to contribute towards the peace of the kingdom, and the release of their sovereign.

That sovereign, however, was scarcely worthy of the exertions that were made in his behalf, for while his subjects were depriving themselves of many a comfort for his sake, he was spending the greater part of his time in England, where he could indulge in a more luxurious style of living than in his own poor land; and he was of a disposition to care more about his own personal comforts, than the welfare of his people.

Scotland and England being now at peace, the intercourse between them became very general. Many of the sons of the Scottish nobles were sent to England for education; merchants carried their goods thither for sale, travelling in large companies for security; and persons who could afford to do so, went often on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas á Becket, at Canterbury. The taste for such pious journeys was so prevalent at this time, that nobles, prelates, merchants, and even ladies of high rank, made journeys to England, to pay their devotions at the shrine of this saint, in Canterbury Cathedral. The people of Scotland, already

dissatisfied with the conduct of their sovereign, were rendered still more so by a proposal he made to the parliament that, at his death, the king of England's son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, should succeed him, instead of Robert, the grandson of Bruce, who had governed as regent during his captivity, and was much beloved by the people.

The parliament rejected his proposal with disdain, being indignant at his want of patriotism, in preferring a foreigner to the grandson of a hero who had bled for the independence of his country. They also thought he was very ungrateful to his subjects, who were still greatly distressed through paying his ransom; for, instead of selling their wool for a large price, as they used to do, they were compelled to send it all to the king, who gave them little or nothing for it, while he sold it to the Flemish merchants for its full value, and employed the profits to pay the price of his liberty; yet, notwithstanding this sacrifice, as well as the tax levied on their property, the debt was not discharged till seven years after the death of Edward the Third.

David the Second died in 1370, leaving no children.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SCOTS

IN THE

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

At the time of which I am here speaking, Scotland was a very different country from what it is in the present age. Its now desolate moors were then covered with extensive forests, which formed part of the domains of the feudal barons and wealthy churchmen, who derived great profits from their timber; while the deer, and other animals with

which they abounded, furnished objects for the chase. In the midst of these woods, stood the castles and monasteries of the lords of the soil, around each of which, a large tract was usually cleared and cultivated by their vassals and bondmen, each labourer being master of a little cottage and piece of ground for his own maintenance, for which he paid a trifling rent to his lord. Many of the cotters were employed as shepherds and herdsmen, for sheep and cattle were reared on every great domain, and the wool was a considerable source of wealth to the nobles, who exported it to Flanders, in exchange for the fine cloths of that country, as the cloth manufactured in Scotland was of a coarse texture, and used only for the clothing of the lower orders, except in the highlands, where they had no other.

The several nations that formerly composed the population had, by this time, become so mingled together, that we only find two distinct races, the Gael, or Highlanders, and the Saxons, or Lowlanders. The latter were a far more polished people than the former, and cultivated, as far as the unsettled state of the country would permit, those useful arts that add so much to the wealth and comfort of mankind; while their northern neighbours held in contempt the customs and pursuits of civilised life, considered themselves independent of the laws, and looked to their chieftains as their only legitimate rulers. The system of chieftainship prevailed in the lowlands as well as in the highlands, and the great nobles were, in reality, as independent of the monarch as the highland chiefs, for each could muster his clan around him to defend his castle and his lands, and it was seldom that a clansman was found who would not fight to the last extremity for his liege lord, and obey his commands in preference to the laws of the land.

The power of a feudal superior over his vassals and bondmen, was much the same among the Scots as the English, and the mode of life pursued by the great, was very similar

in both countries. Their castles were crowded with knights, esquires, pages, and retainers of every degree; feasting and minstrelsy were the amusements of their princely halls; while out of doors they sought the bolder pastimes of hunting, hawking, and chivalric sports. Many of the offices in noble families were hereditary, such as those of the minstrel, the baker, brewer, miller, and forester, the last of whom held a very important employment, as he had the care of all the game in his master's woods. It was customary for a young chieftain, on returning from his first hunting expedition, to give his hunting suit and arms to the forester; and there were perquisites attached to all the other hereditary offices; as, for instance, when a tenant brought his corn to be ground at the baronial mill, a certain portion was due to the baron, half as much to the miller, and a quarter to the miller's man.

The clergy of those days were hunters and warriors, and led their vassals to battle and the chase, like the chiefs, and were only distinguished from the lay nobles in the field, by wearing cassocks over their armour. The bishops and abbots of Scotland too, like those of England, had long been the principal traders of the community, for they alone had sufficient capital to embark in commerce to much extent; most of the ships belonged to them; and they, at first, had the exclusive right of carrying on the fisheries. They frequently made larger profits than other merchants, because, in many cases, they were exempted from the customary duties. The great wealth of the churchmen enabled them to encourage the industry of their tenants and vassals, who were generally in a better condition than the people of the temporal barons, in consequence of not being so often called from the useful labours of agriculture to build or strengthen castles, or to follow their lord in warlike expeditions. There were mills and brewhouses on the convent lands, from which the abbot took his dues, like the feudal

chiefs; and thus the monks were furnished with bread and ale, the latter being the universal beverage of all classes, and made from oats, in large quantities, over the whole country.

On all the feudal estates, some of the tenants were free farmers, who rented their lands, and could remove at their pleasure; but a great proportion were still in bondage; nor was it till long afterwards, that all vestiges of slavery were entirely lost. The changes that took place during the wars had given liberty to many, and the masters themselves often conferred the gift of freedom on their bondmen; but the work of emancipation went on very gradually, and there were slaves in Scotland till towards the end of the fifteenth century.

In the meantime, the burghers were fast rising to wealth and consequence. New privileges were, from time to time, granted to them; they had the right of choosing their own magistrates, and of sending representatives to parliament. The houses in the towns and burghs were built of wood, but those of the opulent tradesmen and merchants, although mean in appearance, were good substantial dwellings, furnished with all the comforts known in those days, which were not many in comparison with the luxuries enjoyed in the present times. The chief trades were those of the smith, armourer, goldsmith, tanner, dyer, and cap-maker; but the Scottish smiths and armourers were not so skilful as those of England, which caused the English government to make a law, that no armour should be taken into Scotland; and this was always mentioned in the passports. The Scots were then considered as foreigners, and none but privileged persons could travel from England to Scotland without some protection or passport.

The state of education was much the same as in other countries during the feudal ages, when learning was confined entirely to the monks and clergy, and few could even

read or write, except those educated for the church. There were schools in the principal towns, conducted by the monks, to which boys were sent who were intended for the clerical profession, and they usually went to Oxford or Paris to complete their studies, as there was no university in Scotland until after the reign of Robert the Third. It is supposed that, at this period, there was not a single Scottish baron who knew how to write his own name; nor was it thought any disgrace to be thus deficient, as learning was not held in much estimation by the warlike nobles of those rude times. It must also be remembered, that there were no printed books at that period, and that the greater part of those written by the monks were on subjects connected with the church.

The costume of the higher classes in Scotland differed but little from that of the nobility of England and France at the same period; but there is no particular account of the dress of the burghers, although, in the following century, they are described as wearing the cloth tunic, hose, and round cloth cap, or bonnet, as it was called, like the English citizens. The ladies displayed much taste and elegance in their attire: over a full robe, they wore a close boddice of cloth or velvet, with tight sleeves edged with gold embroidery. The boddice was fastened down the front, with gold buttons or precious stones, and was sometimes adorned with rich fur. The throat alone was left uncovered, and the head dress was either a small circlet of gold, a wreath of flowers, or merely a ribbon, from beneath which, the hair either hung down in graceful ringlets, or was braided in various forms. Very light auburn hair was esteemed as being the most beautiful, especially among the highlanders, whose preference for this colour was of very ancient date, as in the time of the Romans the Caledonians were very proud of their long yellow locks.

Every clan, both in the highlands and the lowlands, was

distinguished by the colours and pattern of the plaid, a garment worn by all ranks and both sexes. Each clansman bore the name, and wore the plaid of his chief; and thus it was known whether the man was a Douglas, a Campbell, a Macdonald, or the clansman of any other chieftain, by the colours and pattern of his plaid; some having only two colours, others, three or four, while the fashion of the chequering was also varied. The making of plaids was a never-failing source of female industry, as the wool was not only spun, but dyed and woven by the gudewives and their lasses, who also made coarse linen for the use of their families.

The Scottish national costume worn by the highlanders, and, at that period, by the peasantry in most parts of the country, is familiar to most readers, though we may here add a short description. They carried a broad sword and dirk in the belt of their kilt or philibeg, which was a kind of plaided petticoat, and to which was also fastened the large leather purse which was worn in front. The bonnets of the chiefs were distinguished by an eagle's plume, the most esteemed badge of highland nobility.

The cottages of the highland tenantry were constructed of wattle-work, and the few articles of furniture they contained were of the rudest description; but they were content to live like their forefathers, and were seldom disturbed in the possession of their little tenements, which was, perhaps, one reason of that devoted attachment to their chiefs for which they have ever been remarkable.

The Scots were always famous for their hospitality. In the highlands, this was carried to such an excess, that a stranger, presenting himself as a guest, was entertained as long as he chose to stay; and if he did not think proper to tell his name, or the object of his visit, he was not required to do so, unless he prolonged his stay beyond a year and a day. If it happened that the host had exhausted his stock of provisions, he took his visitor to the house of some

neighbouring chieftain, who was bound to receive and entertain him in the same friendly manner; and it was also customary at his departure to make him a present in token of remembrance. Every chief had a large hall attached to his dwelling for the accommodation of his guests, which was commonly decorated with various trophies of war or the chase, and served both for feasting and sleeping; for when the banquet was over, and the hall cleared, some dried leaves or mountain heather spread on the ground, formed a sufficient bed for any highlander, who wanted no covering but his plaid.

It was customary for the chiefs to give a great entertainment on their return from a successful expedition; on which occasion, they roasted whole oxen, and made long tables, by placing boards on the trunks of trees. The chief sat at the head, with the principal persons of the clan on each side of him, while his more humble followers occupied the lower end of the board. These feasts were enlivened with the songs of the minstrels, and generally concluded with merry dances, to the music of the bagpipes; for the maidens and matrons all shared in these festivities. Dancing was also a favourite amusement among the Scottish peasantry of the lowlands; but the most esteemed sports were racing, wrestling, throwing the bar, and other feats of a similar nature, calculated to display the strength of the competitors.

Each of the great highland chiefs, like the lowland barons, had certain dependents attached to him, whose offices were hereditary, such as his bard, his piper, and his quartermaster, the duty of the last being to regulate the places where the huts of the clansmen should be built, and allot the ground to them; for which service he was entitled to the hides of all the cattle killed within the clanship. The head belonged to the smith, and certain shares were also given to the piper and the bard, the latter being obliged to compose a verse on receiving his portion, otherwise, it was forfeited.

A great quantity of cattle was reared in the highlands for the English markets, as well as for exportation to Flanders; and thus the drovers, who were entrusted to take herds of cattle even as far as London, for sale, became a large and important class of the highland community. The care of pasturing the cattle at home, was left to the boys; that of tending the sheep and goats, to the young girls; and it was only when a highlandman wished to gain favour in the eyes of some bonnie lassie, that he would condescend to so unwarlike an employment as helping to tend the flocks.

The chase was considered of so much importance in the highlands, that every young chieftain, on first attaining to that dignity, was expected to give a proof of his strength and valour, by leading a grand hunting expedition, which was always attended with considerable danger in that wild and mountainous country; and every one of the clansmen was as much bound to follow him on this occasion, as if he were going on a foray.

The highlanders held it a point of honour to give protection, under any circumstances, to those who claimed it, whether friends or foes. The extent to which this chivalrous feeling was carried among them, might be illustrated by many an interesting anecdote, of which the following may serve as an instance. A chief, named Lamond, quarrelled with the son of another chief, named Mac Gregor, and, in the true spirit of the times, the disputants had recourse to their broadswords, when young Mac Gregor was slain. Lamond fled from the fatal spot, but being closely pursued, rushed into the house of his victim's father, claiming protection, which the old man readily promised, without knowing what was the occasion of his distress; but even when he discovered that his only son had been slain by the fugitive, although overwhelmed with grief, he scorned to take advantage of the chance that had placed his enemy in his power, but, true to his promise, aided him to escape.

ROBERT THE SECOND.

THE FIRST KING OF THE

HOUSE OF STUART.

1371 to 1389

THE family name of Steward, or Stuart, which distinguished all the sovereigns of Scotland, from this period, was derived from the office of High Steward, held by the husband of Marjory Bruce, whose son, now an elderly man, ascended the Scottish throne, by the title of Robert the Second.

The peace between England and Scotland lasted several years, and this period was employed by the king in enacting wise laws for the better administration of justice; but such was the state of the country, that laws, when made, were not to be enforced without much difficulty. The right possessed by the barons of going to war on their own account, produced constant disorders, as they were but too apt to avenge, by force of arms, any trifling injury offered to their vassals. Feuds of this nature often arose between the Scottish nobles and the English wardens, so that the border countries were subject to constant inroads, which were always attended with plunder and bloodshed. In consequence of these continued depredations, new laws were made expressly for the borderers, but they were not much regarded, and every dispute was followed by a "raid," as an expedition of this kind was termed, when a large booty, consisting of cattle and prisoners, was usually carried off. A hostile feeling was thus kept up between the two countries, which was encouraged by the king of France, who entered into an

alliance with the Scottish sovereign; and, at last, the war was renewed, soon after the accession of Richard the Second to the throne of England.

A French army was sent into Scotland, under the command of John de Vienne, admiral of France, and one of the greatest warriors of the age, who took with him fourteen hundred suits of armour for the Scottish nobles. But the French and Scots did not agree well together; for the courtly and chivalric knights of France viewed with distaste the blunt, coarse manners of their allies; nor could they understand the advantages of their mode of carrying on war, which was widely different from that pursued on the continent. The French were fond of displaying their valour in a field of battle, and treated with contempt the cautious conduct of the Scots, whose policy it was to postpone coming to a decided engagement with the enemy till the very last, while they plundered and laid waste the country. The French soldiers, too, were discontented and displeased with the poor living and scanty accommodations they found in Scotland; so that after one campaign in the northern counties of England, in which much booty though but very little glory was obtained, they returned to their own country, leaving the Scots to themselves.

In the mean time, King Richard made an expedition into Scotland at the head of a large army, and advanced as far as Edinburgh, which was burned and plundered, nothing being spared but the monastery of Holyrood. Many other edifices were also destroyed by the invaders, and, among them, the beautiful abbey of Melrose; but no advantage was gained by the invasion, for the country was in such a state of desolation, that the English were obliged to retreat for want of provisions.

The earls of Douglas were the great leaders of all the incursions made into England at this period; and the earls of Northumberland were distinguished among the English

chiefs. They were all renowned for their high sentiments of chivalry, which led them to behave with the greatest courtesy towards each other, when not engaged in open hostilities; so that they would tilt together, in sport, like knights who were not at enmity; and, in such encounters, it would have been deemed highly disgraceful for a combatant to have availed himself of any advantage he might chance to gain, even over the deadliest of his foes.

You have, heard, perhaps, of Chevy Chase. It was a name given to the battle of Otterbourne, fought between Henry Percy, usually called Hotspur, and Lord James of Douglas, one of the bravest chiefs of that noble family. It happened that Douglas, in returning from a successful inroad into Northumberland, passed close by the gates of Newcastle, where Hotspur and some other nobles had shut themselves up, because they had not a sufficient force to give battle to the Scots. The English knights, however, angry at seeing their enemies passing by in triumph, challenged the Scots to a personal encounter; and the challenge being accepted, the two parties met to tilt with each other. In the course of the combat, Douglas possessed himself of Hotspur's lance, which he brandished aloft, declaring he would place it as a trophy on the highest tower of his castle, at Dalkeith. "That you shall never do!" exclaimed Percy. "Then," said Douglas, "come this night, and take it from my tent." Percy did not go that night, but hastily collecting his vassals, he pursued Douglas into Scotland, and overtook him at Otterbourne; and it was this pursuit that was celebrated in old ballads, under the name of Chevy Chase. The battle that ensued was desperate. Douglas was killed, but the Scots were victorious, and Hotspur was made prisoner.

This was the most remarkable event in the time of Robert the Second; who being now old, and unfit for the fatigues of state, invested his second son, the earl of Fife, afterwards

duke of Albany, with the regency, and retired to his castle, in Ayrshire, where he died, in the year 1389, at the advanced age of seventy-five.

Edinburgh had latterly become a royal residence, yet it was not a very fine city; for being situated near the borders, and, consequently, much exposed to the English invasions, few thought it worth their while to build their houses of any thing but wood; and these were mean, and mostly thatched with straw. Yet Edinburgh and Perth were then the best towns in Scotland; and the former was soon repaired after the mischief done by Richard the Second, for the people returned from the woods with their cattle and household goods, which they had carried off with them on the approach of the English army, and cheerfully set about re-building their houses, and effacing, as far as possible, all traces of the enemy's devastation.

ROBERT THE THIRD.

1389 to 1406.

ROBERT THE THIRD was a good man, pious, just, and humane; but he was feeble, both in body and mind; therefore, ill qualified to rule over a fierce and almost ungovernable people, who were impatient of the slightest restraint, and were ready to dispute the authority of a much abler monarch than himself.

The nobles were as unruly as the barons of England in the days of King Stephen; they frequently went to war with each other; they fearlessly broke through the laws; and, in fact, the power of the king was little more than nominal.

Sir Walter Scott has drawn an animated picture of the times of Robert the Third, in his interesting story of the Fair Maid of Perth, in which the melancholy fate of the king's eldest son, David, duke of Rothsay, is beautifully told. This young prince was gay and thoughtless, but high-spirited, brave, and not altogether unamiable; but he had an artful, ambitious uncle, the duke of Albany, who had been regent during the latter part of the reign of the late king, who had chosen him in preference to his elder brother, because he had far greater abilities as a statesman. This circumstance had, probably, given him a taste for regal dignity, and led him to meditate the crime of which he was afterwards guilty, and the particulars of which we shall presently relate. The dukes of Rothsay and Albany were the first who bore that title in Scotland. It was brought into England by the Normans, but not used among the Scots till conferred by Robert the Third on his son and brother, in a parliament held in 1398.

At the period of which we are now writing, the whole country was disturbed by the depredations of the Highland chiefs, who took advantage of the weakness of the government, to break into different parts of the lower country, carrying off whatever valuables they could seize, and laying in ashes the villages they had plundered. Among the most noted of these chieftains was Alexander Stewart, son of the earl of Buchan, who was at the head of a fierce band of Highland freebooters, or robbers, called Catherans, who hesitated not to commit any deeds, however desperate. Yet, by a train of strange events, the leader of this banditti became, at length, one of the first nobles of Scotland, and was celebrated as a promoter of good order.

His history is told thus: He was nearly related to the royal family, but he had chosen to lead a wild and lawless life in the Highlands, where he had raised himself, by violence, to great power. The bandits over whom he ruled,

had surprised and taken the castle of Sir Malcolm Drummond, who was brother to the queen of Robert the Third. Sir Malcolm died in consequence of the cruel treatment he had experienced from the Highlanders, and his widow, the lady Isabel, who was countess of Mar in her own right, sought safety in the strong castle of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire.

Now Stewart, of Buchan, had not appeared in the course of this outrage, but it was strongly suspected he was concerned in it; and the more so, as shortly afterwards, he presented himself before the walls of Kildrummie castle, at the head of a numerous band of armed Catherans, who stormed and took possession of the castle; and, strange to say, he prevailed on the lady Isabel to marry him; and thus became earl of Mar in right of his wife.

It seems, however, that he was afraid his title might, at some future time, be disputed, on the ground that it had been obtained by force; he adopted, therefore, the following expedient, to obviate this objection, which clearly proves that he had full confidence in the affection of his bride; therefore, we may justly suppose that she was convinced he had no share in the murder of her former husband.

A few weeks after his extraordinary marriage, he restored to the countess her castle, with all its furniture and title deeds, by which he gave up all right to it whatever, and coming before the gates, surrendered the keys; so that it was, once more, her own absolute property, which she might dispose of as she pleased. Then the lady invited him to enter, declared that she freely accepted him as her husband, and invested him with all the possessions belonging to the earldom of Mar; on which, he assumed the title; nor had any person then a right to question it.

The new earl now entered on a course of life more befitting his rank. He distinguished himself by his gallant feats at the tournaments, held both in Scotland and Eng-

land, and was accounted one of the bravest knights of the times. He also went abroad, and served with great renown in France and the Netherlands; and on his return to Scotland he did all in his power to maintain that peace and good order which, in his early career, he had been the most forward to disturb.

The Catherans were not the only Highlanders whose utter disregard of the laws kept the whole country in a state of confusion. The constant feuds of different clans became a very serious evil, and one that it was not easy to remedy; for it was useless to make laws for men who would not obey them. Every attempt to subjugate them by force, would have been impolitic, as serving to foment a civil war; since it was most probable that, although they quarrelled among themselves, and invaded each other's lands, they would unite to repel a foe that was hostile to them all.

Some idea may be formed of the fearless character of these highlanders, from the following anecdote. There were two families in Aberdeen, the Lesleys and the Leiths, between whom was a quarrel of long standing; and it is well known that wherever the system of clanship prevailed, the enmity of the chiefs extended itself to the whole clan. It happened that a Lesley was present at an entertainment at the castle of a nobleman, who did not know who he was, and where he found himself in company with a great number of the Leiths, to whom also he was personally unknown. He partook of the banquet, and, in the evening, danced with the rest; till, watching an opportunity, he suddenly drew his dirk, and fled through the hall, stabbing right and left as he went, and at last jumped out of a window, and made his escape.

There were two great clans also at variance, called the Clan Chattan, and the Clan Quhele. Both these tribes were numerous and brave; but their constant wars kept a great part of the country in a state of perpetual alarm; and

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as it was found impracticable to reduce them to order by force, some of the Scottish commanders proposed that they should be allowed to settle their quarrel by a pitched battle, between an equal number of the best men of each clan. This offer being accepted by the respective chiefs, it was agreed that thirty of the clan Chattan should fight with thirty of the clan Quhele, in a meadow called the North Inch of Perth, on the banks of the Tay. They were to use no weapons but swords, and the king, and the chief nobles, were to be spectators of the combat.

The real object of the government in giving encouragement to this battle, was to weaken both clans, by bringing all their bravest men into a situation where they might destroy each other. The day was appointed, and the two parties came into the field; when, just as the signal was about to be given for commencing the engagement, it was discovered that one of the Clan Chattan was missing, on which a tradesman of Perth, one Henry Wynd, a saddler, although he had no connexion with the Highlanders, nor any interest in their quarrels, and had only come to the spot, among others, to witness the fight, stepped forward, and offered to supply the place of the absent clansman for a small piece of money, equal to about seven or eight shillings. No better proof than this could be afforded of the love of fighting, and of the little value which men set upon their own lives, in those days.

The battle was fought with such fury, that all but one of the Clan Quhele were killed, and that one escaped by swimming across the Tay; while of the Clan Chattan, but very few were left alive, and most of them were badly wounded. Among the survivors, was the bold saddler who had joined in this deadly strife for so small a compensation; and, it is said, that it was in a great measure owing to his valour, that his party won the victory; though it was but a melancholy victory that was purchased by so many lives.

The duke of Albany was now at the head of the state, and had grown so jealous of the young duke of Rothsay, that, by various arts, he contrived to raise up enemies against him among some of the most powerful of the Scottish earls; and, at last, he persuaded the imbecile king, that the prince was of so wild and untractable a disposition, that it would be advisable to place him, for a time, under some restraint; and the king, who was too timid to oppose the will of his designing brother, consented that the prince should be deprived, for a short time, of his liberty, until he should be made fully sensible of some errors of which his uncle had accused him, but which, at the same time, he had very much exaggerated.

As soon as the king had given permission to the duke of Albany to exercise so much authority over his nephew, the unnatural uncle, in conjunction with the earl of Douglas, arrested the prince as he was travelling through Fifeshire, and conveyed him by force to Falkland castle, where they confined him in a miserable dungeon, and starved him to death.

It was given out that the unfortunate young man had died suddenly of illness, but all persons who knew the character of the duke of Albany, had no doubt of the truth; and the wretched but weak-minded father, although he reproached himself bitterly with having placed his son in the power of those whose interest it was that he should die, dared not hint a suspicion that his death had been caused by violence, or exhibit any signs of resentment against his murderers.

After the death of the duke of Rothsay, the earl of Douglas, who was called Archibald the Grim, renewed the border warfare, in which he was opposed by Earl Percy's son, Hotspur, the enemy of his predecessor, who defeated the Scots in a great battle at Homildon Hill, and took Douglas prisoner, with several other Scottish noblemen, for

whom he hoped to obtain a large ransom. This, as I have before observed, was, in those barbarous times, one of the most valuable privileges of warfare, every soldier having a right to make a profit of his prisoners; and the higher the rank of his captive, the greater, of course, was the sum required.

It was, therefore, a great disappointment to the Percies, both father and son, when they received an express command from Henry the Fourth, that they should not ransom their prisoners. Their dissatisfaction, on this account, induced them to liberate Douglas without ransom, on condition that he should bring his vassals and join Owen Glendour, the Welsh chieftain, in his rebellion against King Henry; which he did, and fought by the side of Hotspur, who fell at the battle of Shrewsbury, where Lord Douglas was taken prisoner.

Robert the Third had another son, named James, who was only eleven years of age. The king was afraid that, if he should die during his son's minority, the boy would not be safe under the guardianship of his uncle. He resolved, therefore, to send the child to France, under a pretext that he required a better education than he could obtain in Scotland.

The young prince embarked with his governor, the earl of Orkney, and a considerable number of gentlemen, forming a retinue befitting the heir to the crown; but the vessel was captured, on the voyage, by an English cruiser, and the prince was taken to King Henry's court, who detained him, not exactly as a prisoner, but as a hostage, thinking he might make any terms with the Scots, while he had their prince in his power.

This new misfortune almost broke the heart of the unhappy king of Scotland, who died about a twelvemonth afterwards, when the duke of Albany again became regent of the kingdom. James remained nineteen years in Eng-

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land, living a great part of the time in Windsor castle, where he was treated with much kindness, and his education carefully attended to; so that he became one of the most accomplished princes of the age.

THE REGENCY.

1406 to 1424.

THE duke of Albany, notwithstanding his cruel and unnatural conduct towards his relative, contrived to make himself very popular among the people, by his liberality to the church, his profuse entertainments to the nobles, and his affability to the lower classes.

The Lords of the Isles had, by this time, again freed themselves from that dependence on the government of Scotland, to which Robert Bruce had obliged them to submit. They possessed a fleet of galleys, which enabled them to harass the opposite coast, and Donald, then Lord of the Isles, ranked himself among the allies of England, and acted like an independent sovereign, making peace or war at his own pleasure.

Soon after the death of Robert the Third, Donald of the Isles laid claim to the earldom of Ross, which was one of the largest baronies in the West of Scotland, and was a very valuable acquisition to him, as it included the island of Skye, which stretched out into the sea, almost to his own islands. He made the claim in right of his wife, who was a daughter of the earl of Ross; but his title was disputed by an earl of Buchan, who seems to have had a better right to the estates than Donald's lady. The two competitors, therefore, went to war, Donald being joined by most of the Highland clans; and Buchan, by the nobles and gentry of

the Lowlands, the chief of whom was that earl of Mar, who had married the countess Isabel.

It is remarkable that this adventurous knight should now take the command against those very clans of which he was formerly one of the chief, though most unprincipled leaders. A great battle was fought near Harlaw; and although it was doubtful to which side the victory belonged, the Highlanders lost so many of their best soldiers, that Donald was compelled to retreat to the Isles, and, shortly afterwards, to withdraw his claim to the barony of Ross, and give hostages for his future obedience to the Scottish laws.

It is this battle, which is still celebrated in old Scottish ballads, that first gave to the more civilised part of Scotland a decided pre-eminence over the rude uncultivated people of the north, who never again ventured to take the field openly against those to whom they reluctantly owned submission; although in their own territories, they continued to pay as little regard to the laws as ever.

Immediately after the battle of Harlaw, a council was held by the regent, in which it was enacted that the heirs of all who had fallen should be permitted to enter into possession of their estates without payment of the feudal fines usually exacted.

The regency of the duke of Albany was distinguished by the foundation of the university of St. Andrews, the first seminary of learning instituted in Scotland. Its founder was Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, who had been the tutor of James the First, in his early boyhood, before he became a prisoner in England. This excellent bishop, seeing the inconvenience of being obliged to send young men to other countries for instruction, formed the plan of establishing an university in Scotland, where they might be taught theology, law, and the liberal arts, without going abroad. The college was opened in 1410, but did not receive the formal sanction of the Pope till three years after-

wards, when the papal bull arrived, endowing the new establishment with the important privileges of an university. This event was celebrated with great public rejoicings. All the dignitaries of the church went in procession to the cathedral, where high mass was celebrated, and *Te Deum* sung by the whole assembly; after which the townspeople manifested their joy by ringing the bells, lighting bonfires, feasting, dancing, and other festivities; thus proving how truly they estimated the benefit of an institution which afforded the means of acquiring learning within the kingdom.

The duke of Albany died in the year 1419, and was succeeded, as regent, by his son, Murdoch Stuart, as the young king was still a captive in England, where Henry the Fifth was then reigning.

The new regent was of an indolent temper, and allowed the nobles, and the chiefs of the Highlands and Isles, again to assume the power which his father had abolished. At length, he grew weary of the task of governing a people, who were so unwilling to yield submission to civil rulers, and earnestly sought to obtain the liberation of King James, who was now thirty years of age, and generally spoken of as a prince of great talent, highly cultivated mind, and excellent understanding.

This prince was skilled in all the elegant accomplishments of the age, and had studied with attention the laws and regulations of England, as a model on which to conduct his own system of government, when he should be allowed to return to his kingdom. The people of Scotland had just cause for deplored the absence of such a sovereign; and negotiations for his liberty were entered into with the regent of England; for Henry the Fifth had died, and Henry the Sixth was an infant. The sum demanded for the liberation of the king of Scotland was forty thousand pounds, and six years were allowed for its payment.

But before James returned to his native land, he married

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a young lady, who had been the object of a romantic attachment, which had tended to lighten his captivity. She was a daughter of the earl of Somerset, and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, so that she was, by birth, a fitting match for the king of Scotland, whose marriage was celebrated with great splendor in London. The illustrious pair then set out for Scotland, accompanied by many of the English nobility, and were met at Durham by all the chief Scottish barons and gentry, forming a brilliant train to grace the entry of the monarch into his own dominions, where he was received with tumultuous joy by all classes of his people.

JAMES THE FIRST.

1424 to 1437.

THE restored monarch and his queen were crowned at Scone, on the twenty-first of May, 1424, which may be considered as the commencement of a new era in the history of Scotland, as the first great check was now given to the feudal power of the aristocracy, and an entire revolution effected in the whole system of government.

James found the country in the utmost confusion. It was ruled entirely by haughty barons, not according to the laws, but by force of arms; their castles were filled with armed vassals, and they rode about the country with numerous trains of followers, who lived at free cost wherever they went. The middle and lower classes found no protection whatever from the laws, because their oppressors were those to whom alone they could apply for redress; therefore, they had no alternative, but to submit with patience to robbery and insult.

On almost every height stood a castle, where dwelt some chief, whose board and purse were both supplied by the plunder of his neighbour's vassals; while his own were subject to similar depredations from the lords of other domains. The disorderly conduct of the nobles, afforded an opportunity, and even gave encouragement, to men of all ranks, to live by robbing others; for whenever a baron rode out upon a marauding expedition, his train was joined by many who were not his own vassals, but who entered into his service for the time, that they might live free of cost, in the houses of the farmers and peasantry, who were compelled to find food and lodging for him and his followers. Some of these supernumeraries were known robbers by profession; yet, they boldly rode in the train of a chieftain, scarcely caring to disguise their real characters.

During the regency, and the two preceding reigns, some of the great nobles, particularly the family of the duke of Albany, had usurped, and obtained grants of lands that formerly had belonged to the crown, by which the royal power and revenue were materially diminished.

It had been the plan of the duke of Albany, to keep in favour with the lower classes of the people, by exempting them from many taxes; but to make up the deficiency, he had seized on all the patrimonial estates of the Stuart family; which were very considerable, and belonged by right to James, who ought to have received the revenues arising from them for his support, while detained in England.

Duke Murdoch, too, the last regent, had granted parts of these estates to different persons of high rank; so that when James came back, he found that all his private property had been alienated, as well as that which belonged to the crown. He resolved, however, that all this should be restored; that the family of Albany should be punished for the bad use they had made of the sovereign power; and that the nobles should be brought under subjection to the laws, and the

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authority of the crown. He began by holding a parliament, and making a number of new laws, to facilitate his designs. It was enacted, that the sheriffs of counties should send in accounts of all the lands within their districts that had belonged to the king's ancestors, with the names of their present possessors, who were to give up the estates, unless they could shew that they had obtained grants from the king himself. Private warfare was forbidden; and it was ordained that every nobleman should limit his retinue to such a number as he could maintain at his own cost; so that the people might be relieved from the burthen of finding entertainment for the rabble that constituted the greater part of a baron's train.

The next object of the king was to extend his own power, which he did by instituting a body of legislators, called Lords of the Articles, whose business it was to settle what measures should, or should not, be proposed in the parliament. For instance, if any member intended to propose a new law, he was obliged to make known that intention, beforehand, to the Lords of the Articles, who might forbid him to do so, if they did not approve of it; and as the members of this council were nominated by the king himself, they were not likely to consent to the proposal of any measure which was not in accordance with his wishes; so that he became, in fact, almost an absolute monarch.

Still the nobles paid no attention to the new laws, either by giving up the crown lands, or dismissing any of their retainers; for they had been used to disobey the sovereign's commands, and were not aware of the determined character of the king, or the storm that was ready to burst over their heads. They, consequently, did not hesitate to attend the next parliament, which James summoned in a few months, with a secret determination to punish, as rebels and traitors, those who had not submitted to the laws. The late regent, with his sons, and his father-in-law, the earl of

Lennox, who was nearly eighty years of age, were suddenly arrested, and sent to Stirling, where they were tried in the presence of the king, and publicly executed in front of the castle. Many other members of the ill-fated family of Albany afterwards met with a similar fate, and all their estates were forfeited to the crown; so that this once-powerful house, which had so long been at the head of the state, was totally overthrown; and thus was removed the chief rival to the sovereign authority.

These acts of severity were followed up by such numerous executions and confiscations, that, although the king might have been influenced by wise motives, yet the means he took to accomplish his object can be regarded only as cruel and tyrannical. Yet, it may be said in extenuation of his severe measures, that a more lenient course would never have remedied the disorders that prevailed in the state; and if the power of the feudal barons had not been thus violently crushed, the mass of the people must have continued to suffer from their oppressions.

The king formed his parliament as nearly as he could, on the model of that of England, making it to consist of nobles, clergy, burgesses, and commissioners of the counties, the last corresponding to the English knights of the shire. He instituted regular courts of justice, to hold sittings three times a year, and thus limited the power of the lords over their vassals, by taking from them the right of acting as sole judges on their own estates; a privilege long enjoyed by the feudal nobles of every country in Europe, and one that had given them absolute control over the lives and property of their dependents. By such means, James, in the course of time, accomplished his grand design of bringing the great under subordination, and improving the condition of the middle and lower classes. He had, however, a still more difficult task to perform, in reducing the highlanders to subjection; yet this he also effected by pursuing the same

decided course that had been successful in all other parts of his dominions.

The state of the highlands was, at this period, lawless and disorderly in the highest degree. Besides the Gaels, who considered themselves the true heirs of the soil, there were many powerful chiefs of Norman origin, who had penetrated into the remote northern districts, where they occupied castles and lands, and ruled over multitudes of vassals and serfs in all the pride of feudal greatness. These Scoto-Norman barons were hated by the fierce aboriginal chiefs, who were constantly at war with them; and the ravages and murders committed by both parties, kept the whole country beyond the Grampian hills in a state of perpetual anarchy.

The barons held themselves quite as independent of the king and the laws, as the Gaelic chieftains, and, among other acts of insubordination, refused to pay their share of the tax imposed on all property throughout the kingdom, for the payment of the king's ransom. James proceeded to the north with a sufficient force, and having fortified the castle of Inverness, he called a parliament there, and summoned about fifty chiefs to attend it. On their arrival, they were all seized and imprisoned. Those who had been most rebellious, were executed, and the rest were obliged to make promises of future obedience, on which they were set at liberty. Among these was Alexander, the Lord of the Isles, who had no sooner recovered his freedom, than he revolted, and collecting a large force, marched to Inverness, and burnt the city. He was again made prisoner; and, after submitting to beg his life in the most humble manner, was confined, for a long time, in Tantallon castle, but was eventually restored to his principality.

When James the First had fully established his authority, he devoted his attention to the improvement of his kingdom. With the assistance of his parliament, which was

summoned every year, he revised all the laws, and made many new ones, all of which he caused to be written in the language of the country, instead of in Latin, as they formerly had been. It was ordained by the new laws, that every man and youth above the age of twelve, should learn to use a bow and arrow; and to that end, the peasants, who were accustomed on holidays to amuse themselves with running races, throwing bars, leaping, and wrestling, were enjoined to practise archery instead of their usual sports. Butts were set up near each parish church, at which every man was to shoot, at least six times on a holiday; a fine of two pence was imposed on those who did not attend, to be spent in ale for those who did.

Another law related to a class of beggars called Sorners, who pretended to the rank of gentlemen, and wandered from place to place, intruding into people's houses, where they took their seat at the table, and received what was given to them, as a right, rather than as a favour. They all claimed to be of gentle birth, and some of them did not scruple to ride about the country with attendants, who were beggars also. To remedy this evil, it was enacted, that no such persons should be permitted to beg, or insist on being entertained in any farm-houses, or other dwellings; an exception, however, being made in favour of the royal, or licensed beggars, known as the blue-gowns, or king's bedesmen. These were old men above the age of seventy, or worthy persons, who were, by some misfortune, disabled from supporting themselves in any other way. They were distinguished by a badge, granted by the chief magistrate of the burgh; and this venerable order of privileged mendicants were well known in Scotland until a very late period.

Many laws were also made with regard to foreign trade, which was still carried on by the nobility and clergy. They sent out ships to the ports of France and Flanders, laden

with wool and hides, in exchange for which they received the manufactured goods of those countries; and this led to the institution of sumptuary laws, to check the extravagance of those who were inclined to indulge too much in such superfluities. The king ordained that no silks or fine furs should be worn by any persons below the rank of knights, except they were aldermen, bailies, or members of a town council. Country gentlemen, or lairds, were forbidden to wear scarlet, and were required to see that their wives and daughters did not imitate the ladies of the court, but that they dressed according to their station, with short curches on their heads, small hoods, and gowns without trains or fur. The farmers and labourers were prohibited from wearing garments of any colours but grey or white, except on holidays, when they were permitted to display a suit of green, or light blue. All men were obliged to furnish themselves with armour and weapons according to their rank; and there were many laws made with a view to improve the agriculture of the country.

James the First had reigned over Scotland thirteen years; and, in that time, had done more towards the civilization of the country, than had been effected by his predecessors in the course of ages; yet it was not to be expected that he could have many friends among the nobility; and, at length, a conspiracy was formed against his life, which, unhappily, proved but too successful. The chief conspirators were the earl of Athole, his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, and Sir Robert Grahame, all of whom had been deprived of some ill-gotten estates by the new laws; and the time chosen for the execution of their plot, was during the Christmas festivities, a season of great gaiety in Scotland, where it was celebrated, as in England, with feasting, dancing, masks, mummings, and games of all kinds.

The king was keeping his christmas at Perth, in the monastery of the Black Friars, which he had chosen for his re-

sidence, during his stay, and where he was surrounded by a numerous and brilliant court. It appears that he had received several warnings of his danger, to which he had paid no attention, until one night, as he was about to retire to rest, he was alarmed by the sound of armed men coming towards his apartment. The terrified queen, and several of her ladies, who were in the room, assisted him to descend into a vault, and succeeded in covering up the aperture through which he had passed, before the ruffians had effected an entrance. The latter, surprised at not finding him in the room, went to search for him elsewhere; but, unfortunately, in a few minutes, some of them returned, and discovered the ladies in the act of drawing him from his hiding-place, that he might make his escape. They instantly leaped down into the vault, where the unfortunate monarch defended himself valiantly to the last; but three against one were fearful odds; and he fell, at length, covered with wounds. The three principal conspirators fled; but the queen was resolved not to rest till she had avenged the cruel death of her beloved husband, and, for that end, instituted so diligent a search, that they were all taken, and put to death with cruel tortures; according to the revolting custom of that barbarous age, in cases of treason.

This melancholy event took place at the beginning of the year 1437, soon after the commencement of the civil wars in England between the houses of York and Lancaster.

JAMES THE SECOND.

1437 to 1460.

THE heir of the murdered king was only five years of age; therefore, another long regency threw the whole kingdom

again into confusion, and revived many of the evils the late monarch had taken so much pains to suppress. There were two great statesmen, who had been the principal ministers of James the First, the one was the chancellor Crichton, the other, Sir Alexander Livingstone, both men of good family, although they did not rank among the nobility of the kingdom; but James chose his ministers, not for their high birth, but for their talents, with which these two men were eminently gifted, and had risen, in consequence, to the highest offices of the state.

To them was now entrusted the care of the young king's person, and they were appointed joint regents; for the queen withdrew herself entirely from public affairs, and, soon afterwards, married Sir James Stuart, called the Black Knight of Lorn.

The events of the next few years are very confused, and uninteresting. Unfortunately for the country, the two regents were enemies to each other; and both had a powerful foe in the earl of Douglas, who, during the minority of the king, attained to a degree of power and opulence, scarcely possessed by the sovereign himself. His estates extended over a great part of the west of Scotland, and his vassals were so numerous, that he could at any time raise an army that might enable him to defy any authority.

Before the king was of age, this mighty earl died; and his son, William, a youth of fourteen, succeeded to his titles and possessions, both in Scotland and France; for Earl Douglas had been created earl of Touraine, for services rendered to Charles the Seventh. The young earl, William, was extremely haughty and vain of his state. He seldom rode without a thousand horsemen in his train; and, as you may suppose, the vassals of so young a chief were not under much control, so that they were a nuisance to the whole country; for none dared resent an injury done by a follower of the Douglas, for fear of drawing upon

themselves the vengeance of the whole clan. The arrogance of the boy chieftain gave great offence to the regents, particularly to Crichton, who, with all his abilities, was a cruel, vindictive man; and he made use of the following stratagem to get Douglas into his power, and deprive him of life.

Pretending to be desirous of promoting an intimacy between the king and the earl, who were nearly of an age, he invited the latter to visit the young monarch at Edinburgh castle. Douglas, not suspecting any treachery, went, accompanied by his younger brother, when both were seized, and beheaded in the castle-yard.

The two regents had hoped, by this cruel deed, to weaken the power of the Douglas family, because they knew that if these two brothers should die without children, part of the lands would go to their sister, who was called the Fair Maiden of Galloway; and the rest, with the title, to the next male heir, a cousin of the deceased earl; but their designs were frustrated by the marriage of the Fair Maiden of Galloway with her cousin, by which the division of the estates was prevented, and the new earl was in possession of full as much power and territory as his predecessors. He was determined, however, to revenge the death of his young kinsmen; and, with that object in view, made a great show of submission to the king, who was now advancing towards an age when he could take the government into his own hands.

James, delighted at the unexpected humility of the greatest vassal in the kingdom, took him into favour, dissolved the regency, and made him his chief minister. The first use which Douglas made of his authority, was to lay siege to the baronial castles of Sir William Crichton, which he entirely destroyed; and to arrest Sir Alexander Livingstone, whom he imprisoned, confiscated his estates, and beheaded his two sons. Crichton, after defending himself for

nine weeks in the castle of Edinburgh, surrendered, and was restored to his estates and honours.

In the meantime, a border war had commenced, in spite of a truce with England, and a great deal of mischief was done on both sides, unsanctioned by the sovereign of either country. The brothers of Earl Douglas were among the principal aggressors; and as that nobleman and his whole family were again growing as haughty and presumptuous as their predecessors, the king began to withdraw his favour from him.

Instead, therefore, of consulting him upon all affairs of importance, he took the advice of his father's minister, Sir William Crichton. By the counsel of this experienced statesman, the courts of justice instituted by James the First, were revived; private warfare, so destructive of all order and happiness, was forbidden, under severe pains and penalties; strict laws were made against spoilers and marauders, or, in other words, against titled robbers and their retainers; and other statutes enacted, which were by no means pleasing to Douglas, who withdrew from court to his own dominions, where he pursued a course of conduct so directly in opposition to the laws of the country, that, at last, he found that it would be prudent to absent himself for a time. He went, therefore, on a pilgrimage to Rome, attended by a splendid retinue, and was received every where on his route with marked distinction; for the name of Douglas was renowned throughout Europe.

In the meantime, Crichton had negotiated an alliance between France and Scotland, and obtained the hand of Mary of Gueldres, a near relative of Philip, duke of Burgundy, for his royal master. This young lady had been brought up at the court of Burgundy, and accustomed to all its luxuries; so that she was very much disappointed, on her arrival in Scotland, to find it was so different from the country she had left. Even the table of the monarch himself, was woe-

fully deficient in refinement. The first dish placed on it, was a boar's head, painted, and stuck all over with bits of flax. It was served up on a platter surrounded with banners; and as soon as it was put on the table, the flax was set on fire, amid the loud shouts of the company. The wine was served in wooden bowls; and the whole entertainment appeared so barbarous to the new queen, in comparison with the more refined customs of France, that she wept bitterly at parting with the knights who had escorted her to Scotland, and would gladly have gone back with them. Meantime, the state of society was not likely to improve at such a troubled period.

While Douglas was absent, his brothers and vassals disturbed the whole country with their lawless deeds, and committed so many acts of violence, that the king himself marched with his army into Douglasdale, laid waste a great portion of the lands, and took possession of some of the castles. When Douglas heard this bad news, he made hasty preparations for his return; and many of his followers, anxious to learn the fate of the friends they had left behind, set off immediately for their own country, without waiting for their chief.

At last, Douglas himself re-appeared in Scotland, and on making submission to the king, was again restored to favour; for James was of a milder disposition than his father, and was always more ready to pardon than to punish. The earl, however, was not grateful for his kindness; and on his return to his territories, paid little attention to the laws of the land, or the commands of his sovereign. He waylaid, and attempted to assassinate, the aged Chancellor Crichton; he endeavoured to force all men of rank and influence residing within his territories, to enter into a league to support him against the crown, and those who refused he treated with great severity, even putting some to death, on his own authority.

The king was highly displeased at these proceedings; yet he wished to avoid an open quarrel; wherefore, by the advice of his ministers, he invited the earl to court, intending to remonstrate with him on his bad conduct. Douglas was not very willing to trust himself within the reach of his enemies, especially after the violence he had offered to Sir William Crichton; however, on receiving solemn assurances of safety, under the king's own seal, he went to Stirling-castle, where the king then held his court, and was most graciously received by James; who made him sup at his own table, which was esteemed a mark of high favour.

At the conclusion of the supper, as the company were leaving the hall, the king called Douglas aside, and began to talk to him about his mode of life, telling him how much better it would be, if, instead of keeping his country in a state of constant turmoil, he were to employ his power and talents for its benefit; but the haughty earl replied, in a very unbecoming manner, to the effect, that he should continue to act as he thought proper.

The king was so angry at this reply, that, in the heat of the moment, he forgot the duties of hospitality, and the promise of safety he had given to his guest, and drawing his dagger, laid him dead at his feet. This unfortunate occurrence brought on a civil war; for the whole clan was soon in arms to revenge the death of their chief, whose title was assumed by the eldest of his five brothers. The whole country was now divided into two parties, some siding with the Douglases, and others with the king; whilst all the inferior vassals, of course, took the part of their leaders.

For three years, this unhappy contest was carried on, to the great injury of trade, agriculture, and the general welfare, when it was, at last, terminated suddenly by the following circumstance. The bishop of St. Andrews, who fought in the king's army, entered into a secret correspondence with Sir James Hamilton, a nobleman in the earl's

army, a man of prudence and good sense, in the hope of detaching him from the earl's party.

The event was favourable; for while Hamilton was still undecided on the course he should pursue, a dispute arose between him and Douglas, on the eve of a battle, in consequence of which, he went over to the camp of the royalists, with all the troops under his command. This desertion of one of their most considerable leaders, spread such dismay among the followers of Douglas, that they imitated the example of Hamilton; and, by the morning, Douglas found he had so few men left, that he was obliged to quit the field, and seek refuge in England, where he remained in exile for many years.

The king then made a tour through the earl's vast territories, demolished many of the castles, and divided the lands, with the exception of some that he annexed to the crown, amongst those persons who had rendered him the best service, one of whom was Sir James Hamilton, whose conduct, in returning to his allegiance, had probably saved much bloodshed. He was the first of the present noble house of Hamilton, the head of which bears the title of duke, and he became the founder of the university of Glasgow. The castle of Douglas, together with its broad lands, was bestowed on the earl of Angus, who was nearly related to the banished earl, but had sided with the king; and thus another branch of the Douglas family became lords of a part of its ancient domains, but did not bear the title of the former possessors.

While the civil war was going on in Scotland between Douglas and his sovereign, the War of the Roses, in England, was at its height; and about four years after the defeat of Douglas, Queen Margaret, the wife of Henry the Sixth, sought assistance in Scotland, and was joined by some of the Scottish barons; by whose aid, she was ena-

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bled to give battle to the Yorkists, at Wakefield, where Richard, duke of York, was killed.

The king of Scotland took advantage of the troubled state of England, to attempt the recovery of several possessions held by the English in Scotland, and above all, of Roxburgh town and castle, to which he laid siege; and here an unfortunate accident terminated his life, in the twenty-third year of his age.

One day, he was showing the arrangement of his batteries to a friend, who had just arrived in the camp, and they were both standing near a cannon, which, on being discharged, burst in pieces, and some of the fragments striking the king, killed him on the spot.

This sad catastrophe so depressed the spirits of the barons, that they began to think of raising the siege, when the queen, Mary of Gueldres, suddenly appeared in the camp with her son James, the infant sovereign, and begged them to support him as they would have done his father, and not to remove from before the castle, till it was razed to the ground. They listened to her entreaties; the young monarch was crowned with as much ceremony as the circumstances would admit; and the siege being prosecuted with renewed vigour, the castle was taken, and demolished.

This happened in 1460; and, in the following year, the Scots tried to restore Henry the Sixth, the dethroned king of England; but it need scarcely be said, that the attempt was unsuccessful; and, soon, afterwards, a truce was concluded between England and Scotland for fifty-four years.

JAMES THE THIRD

1460 to 1487.

THE first occurrence worthy of notice in the reign of James the Third, was the final union of the Orkney and Zetland Isles with Scotland, which took place on the marriage of the young king with the princess of Denmark, in the year 1468. James then granted a charter to the inhabitants of Kirkwall, which was the only town of note in these islands, confirming all the ancient rights given them by the Norwegian kings, and allowing them to hold a market twice a year, and three fairs annually.

This town was governed by a provost, a mayor, four bailiffs, and a common council. The fairs were looked forward to with eager delight by the whole population of these barren and thinly-inhabited islands, particularly by the Zetlanders, who had few other opportunities of learning what was passing in the world, but from the merchants of different countries, who brought goods for sale to the fair of Kirkwall. It was here, too, that the maidens and matrons came to purchase such articles of finery or utility as they could afford, and which they had no means of procuring elsewhere.

James the Third was a prince of pacific disposition, a patron of various arts, but not fond of hunting, tournaments, and knightly accomplishments, in which all persons of rank, in those days, were expected to excel, and which, in a king, were regarded as indispensable; he was, therefore, not very popular; while his brothers, the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, who were remarkable for the

warlike qualities in which he was deficient, were great favourites with the people.

At this period, a belief in astrology was prevalent all over Europe, and there were few princes who did not, at times, seek information with regard to future events from men said to be skilled in this imaginary science. The Scottish monarch was much addicted to this, and other superstitious beliefs, and was induced, by the prophecy of a soothsayer, who declared that he should fall by the hand of his nearest of kin, to imprison his two brothers on different charges of treason. This act made him still more unpopular than before, particularly as he admitted to his confidence, and exalted to high offices, men who had no pretensions, either by birth or education, to fill such situations.

The duke of Albany, who was confined in Edinburgh castle, contrived to escape, by letting himself down from the battlements, and got safely over to France; but the earl of Mar died, it was said, by violent means, and some suspicion fell on the king, who unwisely bestowed the earldom and estates of his deceased brother on a man named Cochrane, an architect, whom he had lately taken into favour.

In the meantime, the duke of Albany had gone to England, at the invitation of Edward the Fourth, who was on the point of invading Scotland, and had promised to seat Albany on the throne of that kingdom, on condition that he should hold it in vassalage of the English crown; to which the duke had consented, and had induced the banished earl of Douglas to join in the expedition. Some of the great nobles in Scotland secretly favoured their designs, and, moreover, formed a conspiracy among themselves for the destruction of Cochrane, the newly-created earl of Mar, whose presumption, avarice, and oppressive conduct towards the lower orders, had made him equally detested by rich and poor. The English, headed by the duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the Third, with Albany and Douglas,

marched towards Berwick, while James assembled his forces, and advanced to meet them, little suspecting the plot that existed among his principal officers. His army had reached Lauder, when it was joined by the earl of Mar, with so pompous a retinue, that the indignation of the barons was excited to the utmost, and they held a council in the church, to consider how they should rid themselves of an individual who was obnoxious to the whole nation.

In the course of the debate, some one alluded to the old fable of the cat and the mice, in which it is related, that the mice formed a plan for tying a bell round the cat's neck, that they might know when she was coming. "Yes," said another, "but we must remember that the mice could not execute their fine project, because none of them had the courage to make the perilous attempt of tying on the bell." "If that be all," said Douglas, the earl of Angus, "I will undertake to bell the cat;" a speech which caused this nobleman to be called ever afterwards, Archibald Bell the Cat.

Scarcely had Angus made this well-known reply, before the earl of Mar entered the assembly, when Earl Archibald first attacked him, and he was treated by all with the utmost scorn, reproached with his misdeeds, and finally arrested, and placed under a strong guard, while a party was despatched to the royal tent, to secure the person of the king, and seize on several of his unworthy favourites. All this was done so suddenly, that no resistance was offered. The king was guarded like a prisoner, while Mar and the rest of the wretched victims were dragged to the bridge of Lauder, and there hanged without any form of trial.

Though these persons had been guilty of great misconduct, yet the fault rested not so much with themselves, as with the monarch, who had placed them in a station they were so totally unfit to fill, and wherein they were exposed to temptations they had not sufficient greatness of mind to resist.

The nobles who had been guilty of this cruel conduct, then disbanded the army, and shut up the king in Edinburgh castle, while the English took possession of Berwick, and advanced towards the capital. Albany now thought himself sure of the crown, but so powerful a party was opposed to his ambitious views, that he found himself compelled to abandon the intention of deposing his brother, and a pretended reconciliation took place between them. The English army was withdrawn, and Albany was raised to great power; but being afterwards detected in a treasonable correspondence with the king of England, he was banished, and his estates were confiscated to the crown.

James the Third, with all his faults, was a great patron of the arts, particularly that of architecture, to which he devoted the chief portion of his time and attention. He took great pleasure in embellishing and improving Stirling castle; and erected several chapels and palaces in a style hitherto unknown in Scotland. He also founded musical academies, and was the first who introduced organs into chapels. But he indulged his refined taste in so expensive a manner, that his subjects were dissatisfied, as they had to contribute a great part of the money required, in the shape of taxes; besides which, the king seized on certain revenues belonging to the church, which gave much offence to the clergy.

At length, he began to adopt some measures for curtailing the power of the nobility, which again had reached a great height; and a rebellion broke out in consequence, in which the earl of Angus, or Bell the Cat, took a leading part. All the nobles of the south were now in league to depose the king, and place his eldest son, the duke of Rothsay, on the throne; and the young prince, misguided by their evil counsels, appeared at their head, in arms against his father. The northern barons adhered to James; and the two parties met in order of battle, about a mile from the memorable field of Bannockburn.

It is said, that when, in the midst of the fight, the king saw his son opposed to him, he thought of the prophecy, that he should fall by the hand of his nearest of kin; and this recollection had such an effect upon him, that he lost all courage, and fled; but it is more likely that the shock of seeing his son among his enemies, drove the unhappy father from the field, when the accident occurred which was the cause of his death, and which gave the superstitious an opportunity of declaring that the prophecy had been fulfilled.

His death followed almost immediately after he had commenced his flight; for whilst he was passing the brook of Bannock upon horseback, a poor woman who was getting water from it, being terrified at the approach of a horse at full gallop, threw down her pitcher before him, which frightened the animal so much, that he suddenly reared and threw his rider, who was severely injured by the fall. There was a mill near at hand, to which the woman who had caused the accident, ran for assistance; and the king was carried into it, but being so imprudent as to declare who he was, the poor woman, still more alarmed, went to the door, and called out aloud to beg that somebody would come to the assistance of the king.

One of the rebels, who were in pursuit of James, happening to be near, rushed into the mill, and stabbed the unfortunate monarch to the heart. Others entering, they carried the body away with them, and some say it was never found; while others assert that it was discovered in a thicket, and buried in the abbey of Cambus Kenneth.

Thus perished another of the ill-fated Stuarts, who was succeeded by his son James, a prince endowed by nature with a gay and joyous temper, but whose life was frequently embittered by remorse for the unnatural part he had taken against his father; as an atonement for which, he retired

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every year, for a certain period to a monastery, hoping to expiate his crime by penitence and prayer.

In the reign of James the Third, beer was first made in Scotland, the hops being imported from Flanders. This beverage, the name of which signifies "bitter," was not made in England till the time of Henry the Eighth.

JAMES THE FOURTH.

1487 to 1513.

THERE had not yet been known in Scotland a period so peaceable and so prosperous, as the reign of James the Fourth, a monarch who was beloved by all classes of his subjects, and who was desirous of promoting the happiness both of rich and poor; and, to this end, enacted wise laws, and used his own personal exertions for the general benefit; but it required a long exercise of good government, to remedy all the evils that had arisen from those incessant wars, which had stopped the progress of civilisation, ruined the trade, and destroyed the agriculture of the country. It was not possible for the lands to prosper, when the farmers, instead of attending to their crops, were constantly riding about the country with their lords, while their farms were left to the management of women, children, and bondmen.

Much of this private warfare had been occasioned by the ill-will that had usually subsisted between the king and his barons; therefore, the present monarch wisely determined to remove this cause of disorder, by living on terms of friendship with his nobles, and providing amusements for them, that suited the taste of the times, and kept them from resorting to war for want of better occupation. He made

frequent hunting matches, held tournaments, gave balls and banquets, encouraged all kinds of princely sports, and won every heart by the ease, freedom, and gaiety of his manners. He kept his court at Stirling castle, in a style of magnificence that had not been equalled by any of his predecessors; and by promoting elegant and social amusements, and leaving neither leisure nor inclination for the rougher pursuits of war, he produced a great alteration in the manners of society generally; for the habits of the higher ranks must always influence, to a certain degree, those of all other classes.

Yet James the Fourth was not addicted entirely to pleasure; on the contrary, he studied much how to improve the country, and better the condition of the people; and, with these views, made a law that every laird, as a landed proprietor in Scotland, should plant an acre of wood on his estate, to supply the deficiency of timber occasioned by the destruction of forest trees during the war, when the woods were often set on fire that a passage might be cleared through them.

Every nobleman, too, was expected to stock a park with deer, to plant an orchard, to enclose his fields with hedges, and to have fish-ponds and rabbit-warrens. In fact, the object of these laws was that gentlemen should spend their money in improving their estates; and although they did not comply exactly in all the points mentioned, still enough was done to produce a great alteration in the general appearance of the country. The change in the manners of the great, soon had a very material effect upon the condition of the middle classes. The nobles had no longer the same occasion for the services of military vassals, as they had when they were in the habit of storming each other's castles, or of setting themselves in array against the king; therefore, many of them, as well as the clergy, gladly availed themselves of a new law, by which they were al-

lowed to let their lands to persons who could pay rent for them, instead of performing any feudal service; and thus the old system of lordship and vassalage was beginning to decay.

Another great improvement of this period, was the attention paid by the government to the education of the people, who were, in general, so ignorant, that very few, except the clergy, could read or write.

The lamentable ignorance of the magistrates, and other officers generally, was taken into consideration by the parliament, and a law was made, that all persons of rank should send their eldest sons to a grammar school, before they were nine years of age, that they might be taught Latin; after which, they were to study law and philosophy at one of the universities, for three years, that they might be qualified for the important offices of sheriffs, provosts, and judges; but although those who neglected this regulation were subjected to a penalty of twenty pounds, it was, by no means, strictly attended to.

Knowledge, at length, began to make some progress. The art of printing had become known; several writers of eminence had appeared in Scotland, and another university had been founded at Aberdeen, by Bishop Elphinstone, whose father was an eminent merchant of Glasgow, and has the reputation of having been the founder of the commerce of that now opulent city. His trade consisted in exporting large quantities of salmon, caught in the river Clyde, which were sent to France and Flanders; and this, at the time of which I am now speaking, was almost the only trade carried on in Glasgow; a town that is now as busy, in proportion to its size, as London itself.

James the Fourth paid great attention to the improvement of the Scottish navy, and under his superintendence, was built the largest ship then known in the world.

It was about eight years after the accession of this mo-

narch, that Perkin Warbeck, the pretender to the throne of England, came to Scotland, to solicit his aid in that romantic enterprise, which terminated so fatally for its hero. James was of a very romantic disposition, so much so, that he used sometimes to indulge himself in a species of knight-errantry, going out, disguised, in search of adventures. The story of Perkin Warbeck, together with his interesting appearance and elegant manners, could not fail to excite the sympathy of a young and chivalrous prince; and James, therefore, received him with the highest marks of distinction, promising to give him all the aid in his power.

At the court of Scotland, Warbeck saw the beautiful lady, Catherine Gordon, a near relative of the king, who consented that he should marry her; and through most of the misfortunes that afterwards befel him, the affection of this amiable young lady was his chief comfort and consolation.

Soon after his marriage, Warbeck, accompanied by the Scottish monarch, marched across the borders, at the head of a considerable army, expecting that the people in the north of England would be ready to enlist in his cause; but no one seemed disposed to do so, which was a great disappointment to the king, who had been taught to believe that the English were very desirous of establishing Warbeck on the throne; but when he found there was no movement in his favour, he would proceed no farther; for he saw that it would be a great folly to go to war with the English, for the purpose of forcing on them a king, whom they were not willing to receive. He, therefore, gave up the project, and concluded a truce with Henry the Seventh, which obliged him to withdraw his protection from Warbeck, who went back to Ireland, accompanied by his beautiful bride. His subsequent adventures may be found in the history of that country.

Among the important events of this reign, was the total

suppression of the Lords of the Isles, who had always been rebellious vassals, and although sometimes compelled to submit to the king, their liege lord, never failed to rebel again as soon as they were in a condition to do so. At length, in the year 1502, a formidable insurrection broke out, the object of which was to liberate Donald Dhu, the rightful Lord of the Isles, who had been a captive in the castle of Inchconnal for forty years. A party, headed by the chiefs of Glenco, effected his deliverance, and carried him off in safety to a castle in the island of Lewis, belonging to a chief named Macleod. Measures were then concerted amongst the inhabitants of the islands for the recovery of their independence; and this rebellion assumed so dangerous a character, that the whole military and naval force of the country was put in array against the islesmen. Macleod's castle was taken by storm, Donald Dhu fled to Ireland, and the islands were declared forfeited to the crown; since which time, they have formed a part of the Scottish dominions.

The king now formed a closer alliance with England, by marrying the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the Seventh; and it was in consequence of this marriage, that the treaty of peace was made between the two kingdoms, by which the town of Berwick was given up to England for ever.

The union of James and Margaret, was an event that had great influence over the future history of both kingdoms; for Margaret was the grandmother of Mary, queen of Scots, who, in her right, had some claim to the English crown; and this was the cause of all the persecution she suffered from Queen Elizabeth. When Elizabeth died, the nearest heir to the throne of England, was James the Sixth, the son of Mary, queen of Scots, and the great grandson of Margaret; so that he was the lawful sovereign of both kingdoms, which have been ruled by one king ever since.

As long as Henry the Seventh lived, the peace lasted; but after his death, many causes of disagreement arose between King James and Henry the Eighth, which led to a renewal of the war. One of these causes originated in the capture of two fine Scottish vessels by the English, on the plea of their being pirates, although it was well known that they were ships of war belonging to the king.

It appears that about thirty years before this time, a Scottish ship and two Portuguese ships sailed from one of the ports of Flanders together; but when they got a little way out to sea, the Portuguese attacked the Scottish vessel, and carried her away as a prize, to Portugal, where the commander, whose name was Barton, was imprisoned. James the Fourth, who took great interest in all matters connected with the sea, wrote to the king of Portugal, complaining of the injury; but no notice of his complaint being taken, he granted letters of reprisal to Barton's two sons, that is, he gave them a written permission to take revenge on any Portuguese ships they might chance to meet; in consequence of which, they set out on a piratical cruise, for, unfortunately, they did not confine their hostilities to the vessels belonging to Portugal, which gave the king of England an excuse for sending out some of his naval officers against them, and an action took place, in which Sir Andrew Barton, the elder brother, was killed.

The loss of his favourite commander was a great grief to the king of Scotland, and this injury, together with some outrages that had been committed on the borders, made him resolve to go to war with England. All his wisest ministers endeavoured to dissuade him from so rash a step, but he was bent upon indulging his resentment, and summoned all Scottish men capable of bearing arms, to meet him at Edinburgh at a certain time, each man bringing with him provisions for forty days.

The people obeyed with sorrow, for they foresaw the

probability of a fatal termination to this unnecessary invasion. James marched into England at the head of his army, and was attended by all the chief nobility of the kingdom; for the monarch was so much beloved, that none hesitated to follow him, although they disapproved of the expedition. Henry the Eighth was in France, but the earl of Surrey was entrusted with the command of the forces destined to oppose the Scots, and was already in Northumberland when James crossed the border. The Scottish nobles would, even then, have persuaded their monarch to return; but he heard their advice with impatience, being resolved to hazard a battle: and dearly did he pay for his imprudence.

On the eve of the fatal engagement at Flodden Field, the earl of Angus, the same who was called Bell the Cat, strongly advised James not to give battle to the English. "If you are afraid, Angus," said the king, "you had better go home." The old man was so much hurt at this unkind retort from a prince to whom he was so faithfully attached, that he burst into tears; and charging his two sons to stand by the king, whatever might happen, he left the camp, saying, "Age has rendered me useless in the fight, and my counsel is despised; therefore, I will depart; but I leave my sons, and the vassals of Douglas, in the field, and may old Angus's foreboding prove unfounded!"

Under these circumstances of ill omen, was fought, in September, 1513, the battle of Flodden Field, in which fell the brave but imprudent king, with most of the principal nobility of Scotland; and thus did the rashness and obstinacy of one person plunge a whole nation into the deepest affliction; for there was scarcely an individual, gentle or simple, throughout the country, but had to mourn for some dear friend who had fallen in the battle; and many of the high families had lost every male relative, except such as were either too old or too young to bear arms.

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It was thus that another of the Stuarts was cut off in the prime of life, for he was scarcely more than forty, and was the fourth James who died a violent death. The earl of Angus, on hearing the melancholy tidings, retired to a monastery, where he passed the rest of his days.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1513 to 1542.

THE disasters of Flodden-field spread a gloom over the country that time alone could dispel. The people regretted the loss of a good monarch, and looked forward with anxiety and fear to a long regency, for the son of the late king was yet an infant, and sad experience had shown that, in such a case, Scotland was not likely to enjoy much peace or prosperity.

A parliament assembled, and the queen was appointed to the regency; but she did not long retain that high office, for she very soon married again; and, in becoming the wife of a subject, disqualified herself for ruling the state. The husband she chose was the earl of Angus, a grandson of Archibald Bell the Cat, and chief of the house of Douglas, for his father had fallen on the field of Flodden, and his grandfather had retired into a cloister. The Scots were not sorry to be released from the government of the queen, who was no favourite with them, for she was an Englishwoman, and, moreover, was the sister of Henry the Eighth; therefore, they sent to the duke of Albany, the young king's nearest relative, begging he would return from France, where he was engaged in the service of Francis the First, and take charge of the government till James should be of age.

It is needless to particularize all the different political parties that now arose in Scotland, each trying to obtain the sovereign power, and to gain the custody of the young king's person. It may merely be observed, that the duke of Albany became very unpopular, and returned to France; and that the earl of Angus, after divorcing his wife, who had interfered too much with state affairs, and behaved with great impropriety, both in public and private life, obtained the guardianship of the king, and the absolute control of the kingdom.

Thus the Douglases were once more in power, and again their followers were held in dread, as they used to be formerly, over the whole country. The border chiefs, too, no longer kept in check by royal authority, resumed their old habits of plundering the lowland country; and, in short, there was neither peace nor order in any part of the kingdom.

For some years, the Douglases retained all the power in their own hands, and kept a strict watch over the young king, who was never suffered to go out without one of them being by his side, and a number of their vassals in his train. At length, weary of restraint, and desirous of assuming the dignity to which he was entitled, he resolved to effect his own liberation, and avenge himself upon those who had so long kept him a prisoner, and usurped the sovereign power. In order to put the regent off his guard, James pretended to be so completely engrossed by the pleasures of the chase, as to think of nothing else; and this stratagem succeeded so well, that Angus, having occasion to visit Douglasdale, left his royal charge at Falkland castle, near which was a famous wood, where he might indulge in his favourite sport. James appeared to be so delighted with the prospect of a few weeks of good hunting, that no one had the least suspicion he was meditating an escape, except one trusty servant, who alone was acquainted with his

master's design, and on whom he depended, in great measure, for his success. All the day before this exploit, the king talked of a great hunting match, which he intended to hold on the morrow; and when he retired for the night, repeated his commands, that everybody should be ready to attend him at an early hour in the morning. The lords and people in the castle went to sleep very comfortably, dreaming only of sylvan sports; while James stole quietly to the stables, where he and his faithful esquire mounted their horses, and galloped off towards Stirling castle, which they reached in safety.

The governor, who was no friend to the Douglas faction, received his sovereign with the utmost respect, and lost no time in making known his arrival to all those nobles who were believed to be opposed to the regent.

The reign of James the Fifth may be dated from his arrival at Stirling castle, where he speedily assembled around him a party strong enough to support his authority, and declared his intention of taking the government into his own hands. When he had fully established his authority, the first use he made of it was to banish the earl of Douglas, together with every member of the Douglas family, and to confiscate their extensive possessions, which he united to the crown.

Having thus gratified his resentment against the Douglases, he began to consider how he might best re-establish peace on the border, and bring the unruly chiefs under subjection to the laws. This he knew to be a difficult task, and only to be accomplished by very severe measures; therefore, he put himself at the head of an irregular army, composed partly of soldiers and partly of huntsmen, and made a progress through the marches, under pretence of hunting, when he took several castles by force, and put to death those chiefs who had made themselves the most obnoxious. Their lands were converted into sheep-walks by the king,

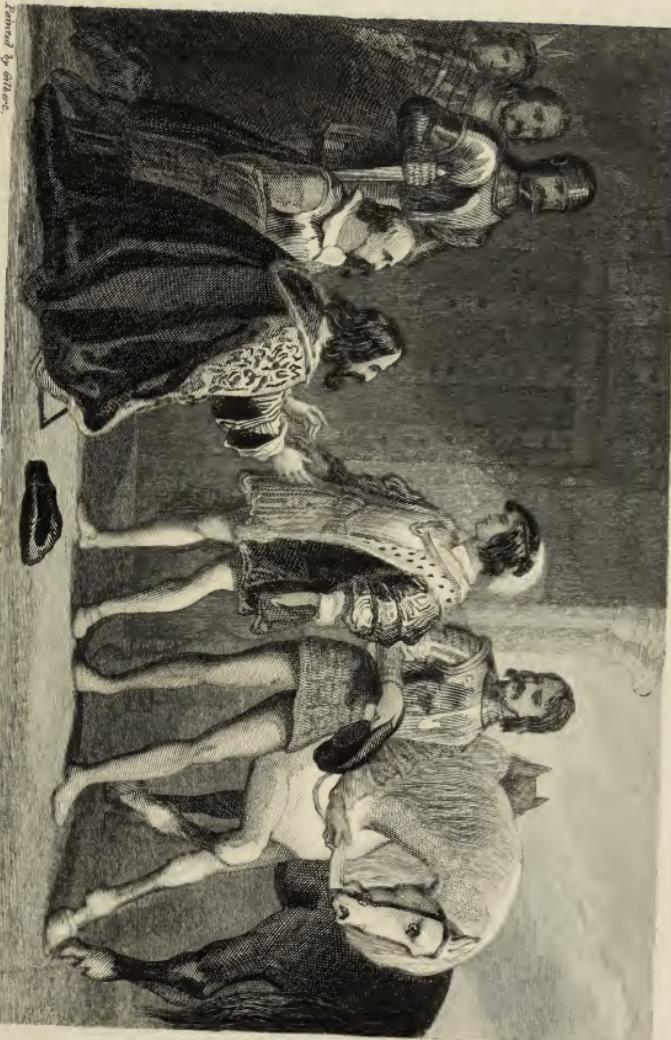
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JAMES VHAVING ESCAPED FROM THE REGENT DOUGLAS, TAKING REFUGE IN STIRLING CASTLE

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who derived great profits from his flocks; which caused his uncle, Henry the Eighth, to call him a farmer; but all the great people, the king, nobles, bishops, and abbots, were, at that period, accustomed to keep sheep, and send their wool to be sold in foreign countries; so that they were all traders, and many of them owed the greater part of their wealth to their commercial dealings. The Scots, however, were not generally so rich as the English; and although their manners and mode of living underwent a gradual improvement, owing to the progress of education; yet the English were able to live more luxuriously, on account of their superior wealth.

As soon as the king had established peace and good order throughout the southern part of his dominions, he proceeded to the Isles and Highlands, where he held courts of justice, punished those who had been guilty of misdemeanors, and obliged all the lairds to show the title-deeds of their estates, that he might see they had a right to the lands they held; and those who could not prove their right, were compelled to surrender their possessions, which were then annexed to the crown. The king also took away hostages to ensure the future obedience of the chiefs; and, in consequence of these judicious measures, there was a longer duration of tranquillity in the Highlands, than had ever been known before.

Peace and good order being now established, James had leisure to turn his attention to the cultivation of those arts which are best calculated to adorn a country, and increase its prosperity. Architecture was one of his favourite pursuits; and several eminent French architects were employed by him to rebuild and embellish some of the royal palaces, particularly Stirling castle, which was his favourite residence. He also encouraged foreign artisans to settle in Scotland, that the Scots might improve in those useful

branches of trade, and mechanical arts, which were then better understood in France and Flanders, than in Britain.

The fisheries constituted a chief branch of Scottish commerce; for there were no goods for exportation manufactured in Scotland; consequently, the foreign trade depended almost entirely on the sale of fish, wool, and hides, which were what are called raw commodities, that is, the goods which are exported in the state in which they are naturally produced.

In the Hebrides, and on the western coast, herring fishing was, at that time, carried on to a great extent. King James the Fifth paid much attention to the improvement of the fisheries, which not only added to the general prosperity of the kingdom, but were of individual benefit to thousands of poor families, who had no other means of exerting their industry. The lives of the fishermen were extremely simple. During the whole of the fishing season, which lasted from July to January, they lived almost entirely in their boats, one end being covered over with sail-cloth, to shelter them during sleep, and as a protection against rough weather. Night was their time for fishing; and during the day, they took their rest, or sang Celtic songs to the sound of the bagpipes; and, on Sundays, those whose cottages were not very far distant, usually went home to spend the day with their wives and children.

The women made all the clothing and the fishing nets; and the whole family lived on oatmeal, milk, and fish, with now and then a little mutton, for most of the fishermen kept a few sheep, which furnished them with food as well as raiment. Sometimes they would sell two or three of their flock, to obtain the means of purchasing what they could not manufacture for themselves, or to enable the lasses to buy a little finery at the next fair. Every burgh and town of any note in Scotland had its fair, when the people repaired in their holiday dresses, to some meadow or large

open space, to enjoy the various sports that were practised, in those days, among the commoners.

The king was often present at these games, and sometimes distributed with his own hand prizes to such as displayed extraordinary skill in archery, wrestling, throwing the bar, and other feats of strength; which made him a great favourite with the people, as in truth he deserved to be, and this was one reason why he was called King of the Commons.

A law was made by this good monarch, that none but respectable burgesses should serve as magistrates in the burghs; a regulation intended to remedy an evil that had crept in during the misrule that preceded his escape from captivity, when the feudal barons in the neighbourhood of a town caused themselves to be elected magistrates, and then used their authority in the most tyrannical manner.

The king was so anxious to see that justice was properly administered, and that the people were not oppressed, that he used to go about in disguise, and enter into conversation with the poor, that he might acquaint himself with their true condition; and thereby be able to judge what it would be best to do for them.

One night, whilst he was thus rambling about, dressed as a peasant, he happened to engage in a quarrel with four men, who made a furious attack upon him suddenly; and if he had not been a good swordsman, he must have been killed, for he did not choose to say who he was. The noise of the affray attracted the attention of a man who was at work in a neighbouring field, who repaired to the spot, and finding that one man was fighting against four, he took the weaker side, and luckily having his flail in his hand, he helped the king to put his assailants to flight.

When James had rested himself, he went with his deliverer to a barn, to wash the blood from his face and hands; and while he was thus engaged, he learnt by his enquiries

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that the man to whose timely aid he was so much indebted, was a bondman, belonging to a farm on an estate called Braehead, and that his greatest wish on earth was, to be master of the farm on which he then laboured.

Now as these lands of Braehead happened to belong to the crown, the king could do what he pleased with them; he did not, however, give the least hint of his ability to gratify the desire of his humble friend, but only told him that if he would come to the palace of Holyrood, and ask for the Gudeman of Ballenguich, he should be very glad to show his gratitude for the service he had received: and so they parted.

A short time afterwards, the poor bondman, thinking, perhaps, he should obtain some refreshment, went to the palace, and enquired at the gates if he could see the Gudeman of Ballenguich, on which the warder, who had received his instructions, said, "Yes, he might see the Gudeman, if he wished it." He therefore entered, and on being conducted into the royal presence, found, to his surprise, that the Gudeman of Ballenguich was no other than King James himself.

It is needless to say the king gave him his freedom, and the lands he was so desirous to possess, which he was to hold by the service of presenting a basin and ewer for the king to wash his hands whenever he should cross the bridge of Cramond. The farm is still held on this whimsical tenure by the descendants of the fortunate bondman; and the service was actually performed by the proprietor for George the Fourth, when he visited Scotland in 1821.

James had been several years on the throne, before he thought of choosing a wife; but, at last, he went over to France for that purpose, where he married the princess Magdalen, daughter of Francis the First, a beautiful young lady, only sixteen years of age; but she was in a decline, and died a few months after her arrival in Scotland, to the

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great grief of her husband, who was much attached to her. Some time afterwards, he married another French princess, Mary of Guise, a sister of the famous duke of Guise, who took so leading a part in the persecution of the French Protestants; and it was, perhaps, owing to his alliance with that powerful family, that he was so decided an enemy to the Reformation, which, at this time, was making great progress in Scotland.

Henry the Eighth was very desirous that James, who you must remember, was his nephew, should set aside the authority of the Pope in his dominions, advising him to give up his farming pursuits, as he called them, and adopt an easier means of increasing his revenue, by suppressing the monasteries, and taking to himself the lands and property of the monks. James, however, suffered the Protestants to be very cruelly treated in Scotland, and made several penal statutes against them; that is, he made laws, by which they were subjected to severe penalties, such as loss of property, imprisonment, and death; so much did the intolerant spirit that prevailed among both Catholics and Protestants influence even the wisest and best of men.

The disputes that arose between the two monarchs, on account of their differences in religious opinions, proceeded to such a height, that preparations were made on both sides for war; but James had become unpopular among the nobility, because he had excluded most of them from his councils, which were formed chiefly of the clergy; besides which, he had made enemies of all who favoured the Reformation. From these causes, he could not raise a force sufficiently strong to prosecute the war he had begun, for some of the lords would not summon their vassals to assist him; and those who attended, did not yield their cordial support, but suffered themselves to be defeated by a force so inferior in point of numbers, that the king felt that he was both deserted and disgraced.

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Deeply dejected at the easy triumph of the English, and the contemptuous behaviour of his own nobles, he retired to Falkland castle, where the news of another defeat, under still more mortifying circumstances, brought on a nervous irritation, which terminated his life in a few days. This event, by which Scotland was deprived of a highly talented and amiable prince, who died at the early age of thirty, took place in the year 1542, six days after the birth of his unfortunate daughter, Mary, queen of Scots. The hopes of the monarch had been sadly blighted in the preceding year, by the death of two infant sons, and on being informed that the new-born babe was a girl, he remembered that the crown was brought into the Stuart family by a female, and felt a mournful presentiment that the downfall of his house was near:

“It came with a lass, and with a lass it will go,”

said the dying monarch; and although the prediction was not exactly fulfilled, still the Scottish monarchy, as an independent government, was not destined to be of much longer duration.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

THE crown of Scotland having now descended to a female infant, Henry the Eighth, of England, was desirous of uniting the two countries, by a marriage between the youthful queen and his son, Edward, to which the Scottish parliament would probably have agreed, but that he wanted also to take upon himself the management of the kingdom, during the minority. The disputes that arose on this point led to a declaration of war on the part of the English monarch, and Mary was sent for safety to France, where she

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was educated, and married to the Dauphin, son of Henry the Second.

Seventeen years elapsed between the death of James the Fifth and the return of Mary to her native country; and it was during this interval, that the important change took place in the Scottish church, known by the name of the Reformation. In England, the Catholic religion had been abolished by an arbitrary act of the king; in Scotland, the same end was accomplished by the preaching of the celebrated reformer, John Knox, who introduced a form of religion more strict than that established in England, although the professors of both were equally termed Protestants.

Knox was a disciple of a celebrated preacher of the reformed doctrines named Calvin, who took the lead among the Protestants of Switzerland, and was a man of a much sterner character than Martin Luther, the great teacher of the Reformation in Germany. Calvin was of opinion that the government of the church and state ought to be entirely separated from each other; that is, that the king and his parliament ought not to interfere with the regulation of religious affairs; a plan which differed from that of the Reformation established in England by Henry the Eighth, who, himself, assumed the title of Head of the Church, and ruled over it absolutely.

Calvin desired also to abolish all gradations of rank among the clergy, so that there should be no bishops in connexion with the government; but that all pastors should be upon an equality, each taking the charge of his own flock; and on this system, the Presbyterian church of Scotland was afterwards established. He thought it sinful to observe any religious festivals, or use any outward signs or ceremonies in religion, or introduce music into divine service; and he taught his followers to believe that it was not right to enter into any of the gaieties of the world. These opinions gave rise to the sect, called Puritans, who made

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so conspicuous a figure in England in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

In the meanwhile, the government of Scotland was conducted first by the earl of Arran, and afterwards by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise. The former, in the early part of his administration, was a friend to the Reformation; but the queen regent used every effort to stop its progress in Scotland, where the number of Protestants had been daily increasing since the death of the late king. Many of the chief nobles had adopted the new religion, and had formed a league, under the name of the Lords of the Congregation, to protect the Protestant preachers from the punishments to which they were subjected by the penal statutes: therefore, whenever an attempt was made to put the laws in force, a tumult was sure to arise, and much blood was frequently shed on both sides.

In short, the history of Scotland, during the long regency, presents little but a series of religious contentions, which had been going on seventeen years, when John Knox returned from Geneva, just after the succession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England. Knox began to preach the Reformation, according to the austere doctrines of Calvin, and soon became very popular among the Scottish people, who flocked in crowds to hear his discourses, which he rendered the most impressive by his powerful language, and the vehemence of his gestures.

It was on the eleventh of May, 1559, that a numerous congregation assembled in the parish church of Perth, to hear a discourse from the lips of this extraordinary man. The date is of importance, because it was on this occasion that the first direct attack was made on the Catholic churches and monasteries in Scotland; for no sooner had Knox finished his sermon, than the people, excited by what they had just heard, tore down the fine pictures with which the church was adorned, overturned the altar, broke the

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images in pieces, and destroyed the relics that were held so sacred by the Catholics. After this outrage, they proceeded in a body to the monastery of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, which they also nearly demolished, putting the inmates to flight, and carrying off all their provisions. In the like riotous manner, they broke into every religious house in Perth, which they completely ransacked, and partly demolished.

When the queen regent heard of the violent conduct of the Protestants of Perth, she assembled her troops, which consisted chiefly of French soldiers; while the lords of the congregation summoned their vassals to oppose the Catholic forces, and marched towards Edinburgh, pulling down or defacing all the churches and monasteries in their way. A destructive civil war then commenced, and was carried on for some months, when it was terminated by the death of Mary of Guise; soon after which, the Protestant religion was fully established by the Scottish parliament; and an act was passed, declaring that any priest found celebrating mass should be punished, either by forfeiture of property, banishment, imprisonment, or death.

Most of the fine old abbeys were then dismantled, as they had previously been in England, and some of them were totally destroyed; all the monastic orders were abolished; and a great number of the monks and nuns sought refuge abroad; while the lands that had belonged to their establishments became, for the most part, the property of the different noblemen near to whose domains they stood.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1560 to 1568.

It was just at this period, when Scotland was changed from a Catholic to a Protestant country, that the king of France, Francis the Second, died; and his young widow, Mary, Queen of Scots, then only nineteen years of age, was recalled to her own kingdom.

Mary had passed her childhood, and her early youth, in France; all her dearest connections had been there formed; there she had married, and there she had reigned; and, to her, Scotland was as a foreign land, while France was endeared to her by every tie that is wont to attach us to our own native home. But circumstances were changed in France, since the death of her consort. Charles the Ninth, a child of nine years of age, was now king, and Catherine of Medicis, his mother, who was regent of the kingdom, did not behave kindly to Mary, who was obliged to retire from the court; therefore, she had less inducement to remain in France than to return to Scotland.

It must be remembered, that Mary and Queen Elizabeth were cousins, and that the former was considered by many as having a better claim to the crown of England, than Elizabeth, whose mother, Anne Boleyn, was executed on a charge of treason; a circumstance which, in the opinion of the opposing party, ought to have excluded her daughter from the throne, to which the queen of Scots would then have been the next heiress. Mary had therefore been persuaded, while her husband was living, to assume the title of Queen of France and England; an offence that Queen Elizabeth never forgave. She was even so ungenerous as

to refuse to let Mary pass through England on her way to Scotland; so that the latter was obliged to go the whole way by sea, which, at that time, was a slow and dangerous voyage.

The people of Scotland were, at first, very much pleased at the arrival of the youthful sovereign; but they soon began to be dissatisfied, because she would not abandon the religion in which she had been educated, to adopt a form of worship she had been taught from her earliest childhood to abhor. It was not enough for the Reformers that she promised she would not interfere with their religion, nor attempt to re-establish the Catholic faith in Scotland; they wanted to have a Protestant sovereign, being sensible that a young woman, whose heart and mind had been formed under the tuition of those who were strongly attached to the Romish church, could not, at once, be convinced that all she had hitherto believed to be right, was erroneous.

A violent attempt was made to prevent the queen from hearing mass in her own private chapel at Holyrood-house; and Knox, himself, had several interviews with her on the subject; but the harsh manner in which he spoke, and the little respect he paid to her rank, defeated the object he had in view; for however she might have been inclined to listen to mild reasoning, the severity of the Scottish reformer only excited feelings of resentment, and, instead of tending towards her conversion, had a contrary effect.

You may imagine there could not be much happiness in a country where religious differences existed between the sovereign and a great portion of the people; added to which, every part of the kingdom was unsettled by the continuance of domestic warfare between rival chieftains; besides which, in many places, there were troops of armed banditti regularly associated together, with a captain at their head, who took up their abode in the ruins of old castles or dismantled abbeys, which afforded security for

themselves and their plunder. Travelling was unsafe; and the peasantry had no safeguard, either for their lives or property; therefore the queen, who was anxious to restore public tranquillity, found herself obliged to employ a military force to clear the country of these formidable bands of robbers. She gave the command of the expedition to one who was her near relative, the lord James Stuart, better known at that time as the prior of St. Andrew's, one of the most talented noblemen of the Scottish court, and a distinguished promoter of the Reformation.

Lord James, although a Protestant, was highly esteemed by the queen, who, in return for the services he performed, by destroying the strongholds of the banditti, and bringing to justice some of their most notorious leaders, bestowed on him the earldom of Mar, and appointed him one of her chief councillors. He was afterwards made earl of Murray, and, under that title, ruled as regent in Scotland during the first part of Mary's long captivity.

The prudent conduct of the queen in not interfering with the new religion, was a great means of keeping peace between herself and her subjects; and all might have proceeded well, but for an unfortunate marriage she contracted with Lord Darnley, a Scottish nobleman, which proved the cause of all her future sorrows. She chose this young lord in preference to any of the princes of Europe who had sought her hand, because he was a native of Scotland, and because he, like herself, had some claim to the crown of England, in case Queen Elizabeth should die unmarried.

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the son of the earl of Lennox, who was, at that time, an exile in England, having been banished many years before by the Scottish parliament, for endeavouring to promote an union between Mary and the English prince, Edward the Sixth. The wife of Earl Lennox was a niece of Henry the Eighth; consequently, Lord Darnley, her son, was the nearest male heir to the

throne; which, therefore, might possibly have been disputed between him and the Scottish queen, provided Elizabeth died, as I said before, unmarried. This consideration probably influenced Mary in her choice; and although the marriage proved a most unhappy one for herself, yet it was very likely the means of preventing a future civil war; for James the Sixth, the son of this ill-fated pair, succeeded Queen Elizabeth in England, without opposition; whereas, if Mary had married any other than Darnley, there might have been other claimants; and such disputes have not often been decided without bloodshed.

Queen Elizabeth did every thing in her power to prevent the match; and all the Protestant nobles were opposed to it, on account of Lord Darnley being a Catholic; but Mary had chosen from affection as well as from motives of policy; and the marriage took place just four years from her first arrival in Scotland. The first evil consequent on this union was, an insurrection among the Protestant lords, headed by the earl of Murray, so lately the queen's prime minister; and then Mary was obliged to raise an army against her own nobility. She herself rode at the head of her troops, arrayed in a kind of light armour, and so well did she conduct her campaign, that the discontented lords, after being pursued from place to place, were glad to flee for safety to England.

It was not long before Mary found that, in choosing Darnley for her husband, she had not added to her own happiness; for he was a selfish, ill-tempered, weak-minded young man, and treated her with so little kindness or respect, that he soon lost her affection, and, instead of trying to regain it, by altering his conduct, he grew jealous of every body in whose society she appeared to take the slightest pleasure.

Mary had a talented secretary, named David Rizzio, an Italian, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the am-

bassador of Savoy, and being an accomplished musician, as well as a man of good education, he was honoured with the notice of the queen, who detained him at her court, and bestowed on him a degree of favour that excited the envy of many of the courtiers, and caused him to have a number of enemies. Mary was advised by her good and faithful minister, Sir Robert Melville, to treat this Italian with less distinction; but, unfortunately for the favourite, she did not attend to this prudent counsel; and the consequence was, that poor Rizzio was assassinated in a most cruel manner; for lord Darnley himself, and some of the barons, came one night into an apartment, where he was at supper with the queen and several of her ladies, dragged him from the table, and stabbed him in the presence of his royal mistress, who in vain endeavoured to save his life.

Mary being resolved to revenge this cruel outrage, left Holyrood-house, and went to Dunbar castle, where she assembled together those nobles who were most attached to her interest, and soon raised an army of eight thousand men, with a view of punishing the murderers of Rizzio; while Darnley, affecting repentance for his share of the crime, joined with her against the rest of the conspirators.

The principal of these were the earl of Morton and lord Ruthven, who fled to England; while the earl of Murray, and others, who had been banished for their opposition to a marriage of which Mary herself now heartily repented, returned, and were taken again into favour. Among these was James Hepburne, earl of Bothwell, related to the Douglas family; for the Douglasses, since the death of James the Fifth, had returned to Scotland, and had been restored to a great part of their former possessions.

This earl of Bothwell was a bold, ambitious man, and a decided foe to Lord Darnley; yet the queen was imprudent enough to bestow high honours upon him, which everybody thought was wrong, considering the enmity that sub-

sisted between him and her husband. It was about this time, that the queen gave birth to a son, who became our King James the First; and not long after this event, lord Darnley took the small-pox at Glasgow, and was very ill for some time. When he got better, he was removed for change of air to a place called the Kirk of Field, close to the town of Edinburgh; and there Mary went often to see him, for she had been afraid to visit him in his former abode, lest her infant might take the infection.

Sometimes, she staid all night at the Kirk of Field, and, at others, she returned to sleep at the palace; but, in either case, she usually remained till a late hour with her husband, to whom she appeared to be perfectly reconciled. It happened, one evening, that a ball was to be given at Holyrood house, to celebrate the marriage of one of the ladies belonging to the household; and as the queen had promised to be present at it, she left her husband rather earlier than usual; a circumstance that is brought against her by all who are of opinion that she was aware of the conspiracy that had been formed against his life; although it may reasonably be said, on the other hand, that the conspirators took the opportunity of her absence to execute their wicked plot.

It seems that a quantity of gunpowder had been placed under the apartment in which Darnley slept, and a train, which had been laid from it to some distance, was set fire to in the dead of the night, and the house was blown up. It was soon known, beyond a doubt, that the earl of Bothwell was the author of this atrocious act, and he was brought to trial for the murder of Darnley; but, according to the custom of those times, he entered the court surrounded by a number of his friends, who were all well armed, and backed by hired soldiers; so that the judges dared not venture to find him guilty, and he was acquitted.

The subsequent conduct of the queen is not easily to be accounted for. A few months only had elapsed from the

night of Darnley's miserable fate, when Mary became the wife of Bothwell, and thus lost the respect, as well as the affection, of the greater portion of her subjects; for, whatever causes of complaint she might have had against her husband, and however little she might have regretted his death, still, people were naturally shocked that she should marry his murderer; nor can we be surprised to find that many suspected her of being a participator in the death of Darnley, although her guilt was never actually proved.

The young prince, James, was kept in Stirling-castle, under the guardianship of the earl of Mar; and so great was the indignation of the people at the queen's disgraceful marriage, that a great many of the lords joined together, and collected a body of armed men, for the purpose of expelling her from the throne, and crowning the infant James.

Mary and Bothwell then fled to Dunbar-castle, where they, with some difficulty, assembled a few troops, intending to give battle to the insurgents, and for that purpose, marched to meet them at Carberry-hill; but the disaffection was so general, that Mary's own party refused to act in her behalf, unless she consented to banish Bothwell from the country. To this she, at length, agreed; and on quitting the field, he went to the Orkney islands, where he was afterwards taken prisoner by the Danes, and died in the castle of Malmoe, in Norway.

As soon as Bothwell had departed, Mary expressed her willingness to make terms with the insurgents; who, wishing to get her into their power, pretended to receive her again as their queen; on which, she rode over to their ranks, and was conducted back to Edinburgh; but no one treated her with the least shew of respect; and, as she passed through the streets of the city, many insults were offered to her by the mob. In fact, the noblemen who had taken up arms against her, had determined that she should never reign in Scotland again. They therefore sent her,

under a strong guard, to Lochleven castle, which stands on a little island, in a lake, in Kinrossshire, where she was under the control of two of the most ferocious barons in the kingdom, Lord Lindsay and Lord Ruthven; and, after enduring some weeks of captivity and harsh treatment, she was compelled, by threats, to sign a deed resigning the crown to her infant son. This occurred in the year 1567, so that Mary had reigned in Scotland about seven years; and although she had been married three times, had yet seen scarcely six-and-twenty summers.

The earl of Murray was appointed regent, and the queen was kept a prisoner in Lochleven castle for many months; till, at length, she escaped, by the aid of a young gentleman, named George Douglas, a younger brother of Sir William Douglas, the owner of the castle, and was joined by several earls, barons, and gentlemen, who presently raised an army of five thousand men to support her cause, their object being to replace her on the throne. This little army of undisciplined troops met the superior forces of the regent Murray, at Langside, a village between Glasgow and Dumbarton, and a battle was fought in sight of the queen, who anxiously watched it from a neighbouring hill; but when she saw her party giving way on all sides, she hastened from the spot, attended by a few friends, and took shelter in the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, one of the very few religious houses then remaining in the country.

Yet, even here she was not safe, for the days were over when such a sanctuary was respected; therefore, it was necessary for her to decide whether she should remain in Scotland, and try to make peace with her enemies, by giving up all pretensions to the crown, or go back to France, which was still governed by the proud and vindictive Catherine of Medicis; or whether she should repair to England, and trust to the generosity of Queen Elizabeth, to afford her protection in her adversity. After much deliberation,

she chose the last alternative, against the advice of many of her friends, who were better acquainted with Elizabeth's character than she was, and foresaw the fate she was preparing for herself.

She crossed the Solway Frith with six attendants, in a fishing-boat, and arrived in Cumberland on the sixteenth of May, 1568, without money, or even a change of raiment, for she had taken nothing away with her from Lochleven castle, on the eventful evening of her flight. She immediately wrote to Queen Elizabeth to inform her that she had come to her dominions, to crave shelter and protection.

How that appeal was answered by the harsh, unfeeling sovereign, forms a melancholy episode in the history of England, but has little to do with that of Scotland, as the reign of Mary ended with her departure from the country; but whatever may have been the failings of the unfortunate queen of Scots, her long captivity and cruel death must ever be remembered with grief and pity.

JAMES THE SIXTH.

1568 to 1625.

THE flight of the queen was followed by another long civil war in Scotland, which produced the usual effects of poverty, famine, and domestic misery, of every kind. There was great confusion, too, in the government. Murray, the regent, who was a clever statesman and a good man, considering the state of the times, was shot from a window as he was riding through the streets of Linlithgow, by the lord of Bothwellhaugh, in revenge for some private injury. Lord Lennox was then appointed to the regency, but he was soon killed in a battle with the queen's partizans; and the earl of



QUEEN MARY'S ESCAPE TO ENGLAND.

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Mar, who succeeded him, died shortly afterwards, under circumstances which occasioned a suspicion that poison had been given him at a banquet, to which he had been invited by the earl of Morton, on whom the regency next devolved.

The country was, during this time, in a very miserable state. The people were divided into two factions, known as the queen's men and the king's men; a fatal distinction, which caused fathers to fight against their sons, and brothers against their brothers. All peaceful occupations were suspended; commerce and agriculture were neglected; villages were burned; the prisoners taken on both sides were barbarously executed; and, in short, the horrors of civil warfare were never more fully exemplified than in Scotland at this unhappy period, during which, the government was divided; for the regent held one parliament at Stirling, while the queen's party held another at Edinburgh, where they kept possession of the castle.

It is said that the earl of Morton held a secret correspondence with Queen Elizabeth, and acted according to her instructions; by which means, she exercised an indirect authority over Scotland, while she detained the Scottish queen in prison. But, however that might be, the cause of Mary gradually declined; till, at length, the castle of Edinburgh, the last place that had been defended for her, was taken by the regent in 1573; and, from that moment, her party abandoned a cause that was evidently hopeless.

The young king was, at this time, only seven years old. His education was entrusted to the care of the celebrated Scottish historian, Buchanan, one of the best scholars of the age; but, unfortunately, his royal pupil, although gifted by nature with a good capacity, and although he evinced a fondness for study, was deficient in that ease of manner and decision of character, which are so essential in a sovereign prince. He was awkward and timid from his boyhood; but

he acquired a vast deal of learning, of which he loved to make a display.

At the age of fifteen, he took the government into his own hands; and then the earl of Morton, who, for many reasons, had become hateful to him, as well as to the majority of the nobility, was accused of having been concerned in the murder of Lord Darnley; and although the charge was never satisfactorily proved, he was put to death, and his estates were confiscated.

One might suppose that, as soon as James was in a condition to act for himself, he would have taken some active steps to procure the release of his mother, who was still languishing in captivity in England; but he made no effort to accomplish this object, or to revenge her injuries; an apathy which can only be accounted for by his constitutional timidity, and his fear of Queen Elizabeth. He was of an indolent disposition, and fond of his own personal comfort, which led him to trust the business of the state to others, for the double purpose of saving himself from the trouble of government, and gaining more time for his favourite pursuits of hunting and hawking.

He had two chief favourites, the earl of Arran, and the young duke of Lennox, who were at the head of all affairs, to the great discontent of the rest of the nobles, who resolved to get rid of them. A certain party, therefore, who were not in favour at court, formed a plan to get the king into their power, and oblige him to dismiss these obnoxious ministers. An opportunity favourable to their project soon occurred; for one day, as James was returning from hunting, the earl of Gowrie, a nobleman possessing large estates in the county of Athol, invited him to stop at his castle of Ruthven, to rest and refresh himself; an invitation that was readily accepted.

It was not long, however, before James found that he had been entrapped into imprisonment; and was compelled not

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only to banish his favourite ministers and councillors, but to appoint in their places the contrivers of this plot, who it seems were instigated by Queen Elizabeth, she being desirous of having at the head of the government of Scotland such men as would not interfere with her conduct towards the Scottish queen. Nearly two years elapsed before King James made his escape from the castle of Ruthven and regained his authority; soon after which, the earl of Gowrie was beheaded, and the rest of the conspirators were banished, and their estates forfeited to the crown.

Not long after this conspiracy, which was called the Raid of Ruthven, Mary, queen of Scots, ended her earthly career; an event that had but little effect on the affairs of Scotland, or on the minds of the people generally; for time had nearly banished her from the remembrance of all, except those who had been immediately attached to her court.

During the whole of this time, the country was very far from being in a peaceable state, for the chiefs, both of the Highlands and Lowlands, were still engaged in those endless wars which had been carried on, at every opportunity, from time immemorial. There were families whose feuds had lasted for centuries, and who were still at variance, in consequence of quarrels that had taken place between their ancestors many centuries back; and such was the disorder that now prevailed, that regular battles were fought in the streets of Edinburgh, which all the authority of the magistrates was not able to prevent. In other large towns, similar scenes of confusion frequently occurred; and as such affrays often arose from very slight causes, and when they were least expected, none, except the serfs and the meanest cottagers, ever thought of going abroad unarmed.

The good-natured monarch tried to restore peace, by inviting all the nobles who were at enmity to a banquet, prepared at the expense of the citizens of Edinburgh, where he addressed to them a long speech, on the impropriety of their

conduct, and persuaded them all to shake hands, and drink to the health of each other; but it was not by such simple means as these, that violent and long standing animosities could be subdued; and the well-meaning but mistaken king, did no good by his entertainment or the power of his oratory, on which he chiefly prided himself, so that the peaceful mood of the nobles did not last much longer than the feast.

At this period, the Scottish parliament consisted of the king, lay lords, and commons; for the bishops, and other dignified ecclesiastics, had been excluded from the legislature, at the Reformation. Anciently, all who held lands of the king, that is, all freeholders, were required to give personal attendance at all parliaments or national councils; but in the reign of James the First, the smaller lairds, and other freeholders, were exempted from attending in person, on condition of sending to every parliament two or more commissioners from each county, according to its size and importance. Still the right of voting at the election of parliamentary commissioners belonged to all freeholders, however small the valuation of their property might be; but, by a statute made in 1507, it was enacted, that none should be entitled to vote for county members, but such as were possessed of a forty shilling land: thus the constitution of the great national council in Scotland, in the reign of King James, approximated more nearly than before to that of the English parliament.

There were some sumptuary laws made in this reign, which serve to shew that, however poor the country might be, the people were inclined to dress and live better than they could afford. An act was passed to restrain all persons, except the highest nobility, from wearing gold, silver, velvet, or any costly material of foreign manufacture, such as lawn, cambric, or lace; neither were any but the rich to use confections and spices; luxuries in which it appears

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that persons, in very poor circumstances were apt to indulge on festive occasions.

By another law, it was ordained that no wool should be taken out of the country, in order that all persons might be able to obtain cloths and stuffs of home manufacture, and that the poor might get employment as spinners and weavers; while workmen were forbidden to carry on their trades any where but within the free burghs; a law probably made for their own particular interests, by the freemen who had lately been admitted into the parliament.

Soon after the death of Mary queen of Scots, James made a voyage to Denmark, on purpose to seek a bride, or rather, to marry the lady on whom he had already fixed his choice. This was Anne, the daughter of Frederick the Second, king of Denmark, who returned with him to Scotland, where she was crowned in the year 1590.

From this event to the accession of James to the throne of England, a period of thirteen years, the pages of Scottish history are filled with the conspiracies of discontented barons, the feuds of the border clans and Highlanders, and the disputes of the king with the Presbyterian clergy on the subject of Episcopacy, he being very desirous of restoring the bishops to their former dignity, while the Presbyterians wanted to abolish the order of bishops altogether; for there were still bishops in Scotland, although they did not enjoy large revenues, great political influence, and high consideration, as before the Reformation.

As to internal warfare, there was scarcely a nobleman in Scotland who was not in arms against some rival chief; and in the Western Isles, the chieftains seldom were long at peace. The quarrels of the great barons arose from various causes; but those of the highland chiefs most frequently originated from the purloining of cattle.

There was a powerful clan called the Macdonalds, who inhabited the wild district of Cantire, a peninsula that

stretches from the southern extremity of Argyll far out into the sea. The chief of the Macdonalds had a brother, named Donald, who was married to a sister of the chief of the Macleans, another great tribe living in the island of Mull; and these three chiefs were very friendly with each other, till a quarrel arose under the following circumstances.

Donald Macdonald had banished, for their bad conduct, two of his clansmen, who concealed themselves in the small island of Jura, half of which belonged to the Macdonalds, and the other half to the Macleans; therefore, the two fugitives took refuge there, hoping to find an opportunity of taking revenge for the punishment inflicted on them, by raising a feud between the chiefs. For some time, they lay in wait, without being able to accomplish their object; till, at length, Donald Macdonald, in going to visit his cousin Angus, at Jura, was driven by contrary winds on that part of the island which belonged to Maclean, where he and his whole suite were most hospitably received; their boats were moored to the shore, and they gladly accepted an invitation to pass the night where they were.

The two exiled clansmen did not fail to take advantage of this accident, and coming forth from their hiding place in the middle of the night, they drove away some of Maclean's cattle, and putting them on board two of Macdonald's vessels, sailed away.

The next morning, when the cattle were missed, and it was found that two of the boats were gone, it was naturally supposed that the robbery had been committed by some of Macdonald's own people; on which the enraged chief of the Macleans hastily called together his clan, and rushing fiercely on his unsuspecting guests, put to death about sixty of them; the rest, with their chieftain, escaping to their boats with great difficulty. This outrage led to a war that lasted thirteen years, and reduced the islands of Skye and Jura, with Cantire and the smaller isles, to a most miserable

condition; for the ferocity with which these people carried on their wars, was almost unequalled.

At last, the king, anxious to put an end to this terrible strife, summoned the two chiefs to appear before him at Edinburgh, promising them a safe conduct to and from the city. But when they came, they were both shut up in the castle, and told that they must remain there till they should make up their quarrel, and promise to keep at peace for the future. On becoming reconciled, and binding themselves to fulfil this promise, they were set at liberty, and allowed to return to their respective islands.

For some years, they kept on good terms with one another, when a dispute took place about the possession of the island of Isla, and then the old quarrel was renewed, and a desperate battle was fought between them, in which Maclean was slain. This happened in the year 1598, when the earl of Argyll obtained a commission from the king to subdue these islands, and annex them to his estates.

A new war then commenced between the Macdonalds and the Campbells, the latter being the name of the earl of Argyll's clan; and, in the end, the chieftain Macdonald, finding that he was overpowered, fled to Spain, and his vast domains were joined to the territory of Argyll, to which they have belonged ever since.

Tranquillity being thus restored to this portion of the kingdom, James made an attempt to civilise the Hebrides, by establishing colonies for the introduction of arts and manufactures among them; but the attempt was as unsuccessful as it was in Ireland some years afterwards, and the colonists were all either killed, or driven out of the country.

And now we are approaching the time when the kingdoms of Scotland and England were united by the accession of James the Sixth to the English throne on the death of his cousin, Queen Elizabeth, who had no nearer relative than himself to succeed her.

Elizabeth died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603, and an ambassador immediately set out for the court of Scotland, with the news that James had been fully acknowledged in England as her lawful successor. About ten days afterwards, the king bade adieu to his native country, and, attended by his chief nobility, proceeded to take possession of his new dominions; and, from this period, we may date the termination of the Scottish monarchy.

It was not likely that the Scots should feel any immediate advantage from an event that caused the departure of the principal men of rank and talent from the country. The tradespeople of Edinburgh, in particular, suffered by the removal of the king and his court; and in almost every part of Scotland, for many years, till manufactures were more extensively introduced, the pressure of poverty was so severely felt, that thousands of families emigrated to Poland, where they obtained the means of subsistence, by travelling about in caravans with various articles of merchandise.

In fact, this change, like all great revolutions, was attended in the beginning with many inconveniences to a large portion of the community; but, in the course of time, the benefits of peace and union were felt by all, and few were the Scots who would have wished to see their separate monarchy restored.

England and Scotland being now governed by one king, it was no longer necessary to defend the borders; and as it was thought desirable to remove some of the most turbulent clans, they were sent, under the command of the duke of Buccleugh, to serve in the wars of the Netherlands, where the people were fighting to free themselves from the dominion of the Spaniards. This measure put an end to the feuds which had so long disturbed that part of the country, which was now brought under cultivation; and the debateable lands, that is, those tracts which had been claimed both by England and Scotland, and in consequence of not be-

longing properly to either, had become an asylum for outlaws and robbers, were divided between the two kingdoms, and their inhabitants made amenable to the laws.

The cities of Scotland, at this period, were very small and poor, compared with what they are now. There were no great manufacturing towns, and Edinburgh itself, which is now, in the New Town, one of the most noble cities in Europe, presented at that time but a mean appearance. The houses, which were raised to a great height, were roofed with straw or rough boards, and were without glass windows; and on each floor was lodged a separate family, as is the case even at the present day, in many parts of the Old Town. The streets were not lighted, and as there were no regulations for cleansing them, they were always very dirty.

The shops were only little booths, like those at a fair, and the supply of goods was very limited; yet Edinburgh was the best town in Scotland. The parliament was still held there; for until the reign of Queen Anne, England and Scotland were governed by separate parliaments, although they had but one sovereign; so that "the Union" does not mean the accession of King James, but the Union of the two parliaments at a later period.

Some of the boldest of the highland clans had been suppressed by the government; and, amongst others, that of the Mac Gregors, a lawless tribe, who, some years before James became king of England, entered the Low Country, and committed great outrages and depredations in the territories of the Colquhouns, a border clan, inhabiting the district of Lennox, in Dumbartonshire.

In 1602, Humphry Colquhoun raised his vassals to oppose them, and was joined by several other lairds of the neighbourhood, whose property had also suffered from their attacks. The two parties met at Glen Fruin, and a battle was fought, in which many were killed on both sides; but

the loss being greatest on the part of the Colquhouns, they were compelled to give way, and the laird escaped to a castle on the banks of the lake, whither he was pursued by the Highlanders, who found him in a vault, and put him to death in a horrible manner.

The Colquhouns, fearing further violence, applied to the king for protection; on which, the marquis of Argyll was commissioned to undertake an expedition into the Highlands, and, if possible, to exterminate the whole of this fierce clan. The Mac Gregors were now driven from their habitations, declared to be rebels and outlaws, their name was forbidden to be any longer used, and their chief, who surrendered himself to the marquis of Argyll, on condition of being allowed to depart in safety from the country, was publicly executed at Edinburgh; an act which reflected the greatest disgrace upon those who thus violated their promise.

The unfortunate clan being utterly proscribed, retired with their wives and children to caves and forests, where they suffered the extremes of famine and fatigue for many years; and wherever they were discovered, they were put to death without remorse by Argyll's followers, till but few of their once powerful race was remaining; and, from these survivors, who were mostly children, came the band of freebooters, afterwards headed by the well-known chieftain, Rob Roy Mac Gregor. The act of parliament by which the name was abolished, has been since repealed, and the Mac Gregors have long been restored to their rights, as subjects and citizens.

The country was greatly oppressed at this period by the exactions of the nobility, who required so much money to support the expenses of their attendance at the court in London, that they almost ruined their tenants by the heavy contributions they levied on them; for the Scottish nobles still possessed their ancient feudal privileges, which gave

them absolute power over the property of their vassals; and this power they did not fail to exercise in a most oppressive manner, now that they stood less in need of military services than in former times; and thus arose between the lords and their vassals a different feeling from that which subsisted while the vassals looked up to their chiefs for protection against hostile clans, and the chiefs depended on the aid of their vassals for maintaining their own power. There was one point, however, on which most people of all ranks agreed, and that was, the protection of the independence of their church, or *kirk*, as it is generally called in Scotland.

It was a favourite project with King James, and also with his son, Charles the First, to revive the order of bishops, and to compel the Scots to adopt the form of worship of the English church, instead of their own. For as both these sovereigns entertained an opinion that the power of kings should be absolute, they were opposed to any form of church government that was not under their own control; and I have already explained that the Presbyterians denied the right of the king to interfere at all with the ministers of the church. All festivals had been abolished in Scotland; while, in England, many holydays observed by the Catholics were also kept by the Protestants, as Easter and Christmas; for such observances were not prohibited by Luther, from whom the English Protestants took their church discipline, although they were strictly forbidden by Calvin and Knox, whose ideas of a reformation went to the extent of abolishing all forms and ceremonies used by the Catholics.

James was so bent upon assimilating the government of the church of Scotland to that of England, that he paid a visit to his native country in the year 1617, entirely with that view; but, upon the whole, the attempt failed, and served to render him very unpopular. The people would not observe Christmas-day, or Easter, or any other festival, but persisted, upon those occasions, in opening their shops,

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and going to work as usual, in defiance of the positive commands of the king, who, notwithstanding all his persevering endeavours, was never able to effect, to any extent, the alterations he so much desired; and the church of Scotland continued to be quite different from that of England.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SCOTS

IN THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

At the memorable period when Scotland and England were united under one sovereign, the former, owing to the want of manufactures and the inferiority of its trade, was a poor country in comparison with the latter; and to this cause may be traced the little improvement which was made in the towns, as the tradesmen were not rich enough to have good houses, and the best shops were nothing but wooden sheds with thatched roofs, built up without the least attention to regularity, wherever there happened to be vacant spaces. This was the case even in Edinburgh itself, although that city had lately been improved by the erection of many handsome houses that were inhabited by the nobility, chief magistrates, and head churchmen; but the town was neither paved nor lighted at this period; for, we are told long afterwards, in the reign of Charles the Second, that the town council of Edinburgh ordered that a candle and lantern should be hung out at the first floor window of every house, to light the streets at night. About the same time, coaches were first used in Scotland by the chief magistrates of Edinburgh; so that till the period of which I am now speaking, the people rode only on horseback, and the ladies

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were mounted on pillion, behind their husbands, on the same horse, as was the fashion in England before the introduction of coaches. The people in the towns dressed now in the English fashion, but the country people still wore the Scottish bonnet and Tartan plaid.

The residences of the citizens generally were gloomy, uncomfortable houses, several stories high, each floor being let to a separate family; and as there was only one staircase in common for all, it was generally very dirty. To this want of cleanliness, and to the crowded state of the dwellings, may be attributed the frequent recurrence of the plague, which visited Edinburgh almost every year.

The shops, or booths as they were called, were separate from the dwelling-houses; and it was usual for all persons of the same trade, to have their shops together in the same street or lane. There were but few trades practised, as all articles of luxury were brought from abroad, and only those of necessity made at home; so that the principal tradesmen were those of the ordinary kind, as tailors, shoemakers, cap-makers, and smiths.

Nevertheless, the residence of Queen Mary in France, and the increased intercourse of the Scots with the English, had been the means of introducing much refinement into the manners and style of living in Scotland. The chief nobility used plate or gilt metal at their tables, instead of the wooden platters and pewter drinking cups, with which they were contented in former times; but it was still usual for the whole family, masters, guests, and servants, to sit down at the same table; a custom that lasted as long as the servants were the vassals of the great; but when vassalage was abolished, and servants were freemen, hired and paid for their labour, and not related to their master by the ties of clanship, they no longer sat at his board.

The tables of the rich, at this period, were more sumptuously furnished with delicacies, than they had been in

former times, owing to the introduction of spices, confectionary, and wine, which were now plentifully used by those who could afford them; but there were many lairds and nobles who were so poor, that their tables were furnished with nothing better than messes of oatmeal porridge, with a little piece of meat in each for their retainers, and, perhaps, at the upper end, a single dish of a better kind, for the entertainers and their guests.

James the Sixth, himself, had not, at all times, a plentiful larder; and when his son, Charles, was christened, he was obliged to write to some of his wealthy subjects, begging they would send him supplies of venison and poultry for the feast, as he had invited some foreign princes and ambassadors, and had not the means of entertaining them handsomely; but it is only fair to state, that he accompanied his request with invitations to those to whom he wrote to partake of the good cheer they were themselves to provide.

The dinner hour among the great was eleven, and they supped at six, as in England; and it was usual at the hour of retiring to rest, to present each guest with a full cup of wine, which was called the sleeping cup.

The houses of country farmers were generally built of loose stones, piled one upon an other, without any cement or mortar, and were separated into two apartments, called the butt and ben ends of the house, which seldom had any articles of furniture beyond a table, a few wooden stools and pots, bowls, &c. Every farmer's wife spun the yarn for the clothing of the family, and also dyed it of the various hues of which their tartans were composed; for no *gudewife* in Scotland was ignorant of the art of dyeing red, green, and blue, being well acquainted with certain herbs and flowers, from which those colours could be extracted.

There was a great deal of flax grown in the Highlands, where the women also spun their own cloth, both linen and woollen; and when it was woven and taken home to the

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Gudewife, to whom it belonged, she sent round to her female neighbours, who came in to help her to full it. This process of fulling was performed by the parties sitting round a table, and rubbing the cloth hard against a board, till it became close and soft; and after they had rubbed it for a long time in this way, they put the board and cloth on the ground, and worked it with their feet, singing Celtic songs during the process; for the people of the Highlands accompanied all their work with songs.

Marriages among the Scottish peasantry were celebrated in a very peculiar manner, and are known by the name of penny weddings; and very merry weddings they were. The young couple were generally accompanied to the kirk by their friends and neighbours; and when they had agreed, in the presence of the clergyman, to become man and wife, which was all the ceremony necessary, they returned home, the pipers playing before them all the way, and the rest of the day was spent in feasting and dancing on the green. Before the party separated, all who were present contributed a small sum towards paying the expences, and furnishing the newly-married pair with money, to enable them to take a little cottage, and, perhaps, to buy a few sheep.

An attempt was made at the Reformation to suppress penny weddings altogether, because the early reformers in Scotland disapproved of all kinds of gaiety; but this was infringing so much upon the comforts of the rustic swains and maidens, that the innovation was successfully resisted; and the only alteration made, was that of limiting the subscriptions, no person being allowed to give more than five shillings.

The change in the religion of the country produced a visible alteration in the manners of the people generally, as most of the holiday sports that had been so popular in the time of James the Fifth, were abolished; no festivals were held, as they used to be; and tournaments, the pride

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and glory of the Scottish knights for so many centuries, were now entirely abandoned.

When James the Sixth left Scotland, he passed a law, called the disarming act, with the view of putting a stop to the depredations of the borderers, who, since the death of the regent Murray, had become as unruly as ever. The new act forbade any dweller on the borders, either of Scotland, or England, to wear any kind of weapon, except a knife of a specified length, wherewith to cut victuals. It also prohibited his keeping a horse above the value of forty shillings; so that the border robbers, for they were nothing better, being now almost disarmed and dismounted, were obliged to give up their lawless habits; and the border countries became as peaceable as any other part of the kingdom.

With regard to the Highlanders and Islesmen, I have nothing to add to what has been already said about them, for they were but little affected by the changes that had taken place in the Lowlands; and to this day, in some parts of the Highlands, the people are as uncivilized as they were three centuries ago.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

1625 to 1649.

FOR twelve years after the death of James the First, there was peace in Scotland, and a consequent improvement in the condition of the people, who were thereby left at leisure to attend to commerce and agriculture. But this state of tranquillity was interrupted by the king, Charles the First, who unhappily fancied that his prerogatives were infringed upon by the regulations of the Scottish church; therefore,

he resolved to re-establish Episcopacy, and compel the clergy of Scotland to use the English form of prayer.

New bishops were appointed, and prayer-books were sent into Scotland, with positive commands that the Liturgy should be read in all the churches; but the attempt made by the dean of Edinburgh, and other clergymen, to obey this order, was followed by such serious disturbances, that petitions were sent to the king to withdraw his command; to which he replied, that the parliament, and courts of law, should be removed to Linlithgow, that he might punish the citizens of Edinburgh for what he termed their rebellion.

This answer only served to increase the popular discontent, not only in the capital, but in Glasgow, and all the principal towns, where, on every attempt to read the Liturgy in the churches, a violent clamour was raised, to drown the voice of the minister; and in these tumults, the most respectable females, such as the wives, sisters, and daughters of the chief citizens, took an active part.

It was at this time, when the popular excitement was at its height, that the Scottish people of all ranks, male and female, entered into a solemn covenant to maintain, at all hazards, the Presbyterian form of worship. This famous covenant was signed by multitudes of the people of Edinburgh, noblemen, clergy, and citizens, of all classes; and copies of it were then sent to all the principal towns, where the same enthusiasm prevailed, the people flocking to subscribe their names to the compact.

The whole nation was thus leagued together for the defence of their church; yet the king was so unwise and obstinate as to persist in his commands that the service should be performed in the same manner as in England; although it was clear that a civil war must inevitably be the consequence of his folly.

The Scots, being aware of this, made preparations for defending themselves, by employing pedlars, or travelling

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merchants, on the continent, to purchase arms and ammunition for them; and a secret correspondence was held with the Puritans in England, who being of the same faith, and equally persecuted, were willing to lend all the aid in their power, hoping to find an asylum in Scotland if the Scots should succeed in maintaining their covenant. These were indeed most unhappy times for both kingdoms; more unhappy than we, who are strangers to the horrors of civil warfare, can well imagine.

A regular military force was then raised in Scotland, under the command of able leaders; some of the royal castles were seized; and the people brought their plate to the mint, to be coined into money for the support of the troops. In the meanwhile, the bishops fled into England, and the king approached towards the north at the head of his army, thinking to terrify the Covenanters into obedience. But this was not to be done; for the Scots, while they professed the utmost respect for the king personally, declared they would never abandon the covenant into which they had entered, as long as they had arms to defend it.

Still Charles seemed unwilling to come to extremities, and the war was interrupted by tedious negotiations. A second time he marched towards Scotland; and the Scots, under the command of a brave general, named Leslie, crossed the border in formidable array, and near Newcastle gained a victory over a detachment of the royal troops, who had disputed with them the passage of a river. Every advantage, however trifling, was of great importance to the cause of the Scots; for there were many soldiers in the king's army who were secretly of opinion that the king was in the wrong, and as they did not desire to continue the war, they made the worst of any defeat they sustained.

Other circumstances, however, occurred, which obliged Charles to give up all thoughts of prosecuting his designs in Scotland, for he began to fear that he should very soon be

involved in a civil war at home; he was, therefore, obliged at last to make peace with the Scots, yielding to all their demands. If he had done this at first, he would probably have found them friends instead of enemies, in the subsequent war with his parliament; but few persons gave him much credit for concessions that had been so unwillingly made; and we find the Scots afterwards engaged in the civil wars in England, taking the part of the parliamentarians against the king.

While the war was proceeding in England between King Charles and his parliament, the marquis of Montrose, a Scottish nobleman, who was very much attached to the king, raised a body of troops in the Highlands, hoping to afford him some assistance. His plan was, by commencing a furious war against the Covenanters, to oblige them to recall their forces from England, which would relieve Charles of some of his enemies; and then he reckoned, that if he were successful in Scotland, he might be able to pass into England with his Highlanders, and join the royalists there.

One of the principal leaders of the Covenanters was, the marquis of Argyll, who, with the whole clan of the Campbells, was hated by many of the Highland clans, particularly by the Macleans, Macdonalds, and Mac Gregors, who had sufficient reason for their enmity; and this it was, more than any consideration of loyalty or religion, that made them very ready to enlist under the banners of Montrose, who was considered one of the greatest heroes of his time.

In the course of this war, he gained some splendid victories, and laid waste nearly the whole of Perthshire and Argyllshire; but at length he was defeated, and obliged to return to the Highlands; and many gentlemen who had fought with him were made prisoners, and executed by the Scottish parliament. The failure of Montrose was a great disappointment to the king and the royalists generally, who had depended very much on his success. This was almost

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the last effort made in favour of Charles the First, whose melancholy fate is known to all; therefore, I shall now proceed to relate what happened in Scotland after his execution.

FROM THE

DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

TO

THE REVOLUTION.

1649 to 1688.

THE people of Scotland in general were very much shocked at the death of Charles the First, and they proclaimed his son, Charles the Second, as their lawful sovereign; for they were, for the most part, friends to the monarchy, though they wished to have a king who would not interfere with their religion.

Charles, at the time of his father's death, was on the continent; and England was converted into a Republic, or Commonwealth, governed by the parliament, without a king; but there was a great number of royalists still, both in England and Scotland; and, among others, Montrose, who went abroad, to solicit the aid of the king of Denmark, and Christina, queen of Sweden, in order to place Charles the Second on his throne.

Some assistance was obtained, and Montrose soon returned with a small army, composed of Germans and Scottish exiles, and landed in the Orkney islands, where the inhabitants, a quiet race of people, descended from the ancient Norwegians, had long lived in profound repose, and were so secluded from the rest of the world, that they did

not know, except from vague reports circulated at the fair of Kirkwall, that a civil war was raging in the heart of the country. Now Montrose was very desirous of increasing his army, and although the people of the Orkneys were not at all disposed to engage in the war, he pressed them into his service, forcing every man capable of bearing arms, to march away with him into the Highlands.

This was a fatal blow to the happiness of the simple Norsemen and their families, who had hitherto been accustomed to peace and comfort. Fathers, brothers, and husbands, were obliged to leave their peaceful homes, and the objects of their dearest affections; and many tearful eyes witnessed the departure of the beloved friends they might never see again. Yet Montrose is called a great-minded man, and a noble soldier; for history seldom takes into account the domestic miseries these wonderful heroes occasion; but tells only of the battles they won, and the daring deeds they performed.

The general had hoped to augment his forces in the Highlands, but the people, having heard of the impressment in the Orkneys, fled in terror at his approach, so that he found only deserted villages; and being met by a party of his enemies, was defeated, made prisoner, and sent to Edinburgh, where he was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor for his former conduct against the Covenanters.

It was not long after the death of Montrose, that Charles the Second arrived in Scotland, where he was received with outward respect; but none of the nobles would take the oath of fealty to him, until he had signed the covenant, and made the most solemn promises to support the form of religion then established in Scotland; but when he had submitted to this requisition, which he did merely for the sake of gaining the good-will of his Scottish subjects, and not with the least sincerity of heart, men of all classes were ready to support him.

In the meanwhile, Oliver Cromwell had been employed by the English parliament to complete the conquest of Ireland, where he had been eminently successful, and he was now recalled home, to take the command of the army that was about to march for Scotland against Charles and those who supported him.

The Scots could not contemplate with indifference the approach of such a general as Oliver Cromwell, whose stern character was well known, and who had so lately spread ruin throughout Ireland with fire and sword. They prepared for his arrival, by clearing the country through which he must pass, of all the grain and cattle, destroying the habitations, and leaving it a vast tract of desolated waste land, that could afford the enemy neither food nor shelter. The Scottish forces were then assembled, under the command of General Leslie, an officer who, in point of talent, was perhaps not inferior to Cromwell himself; and who, if he had been allowed to pursue his own prudent course, might probably not have been defeated.

The English army entered Scotland, where they found neither food to eat, nor men to fight; for Leslie acted on the plan of Bruce, who always avoided giving battle as long as possible, because he thought it more advantageous to weaken the enemy, by cutting off their supplies of food, and exhausting them with long and fruitless marches, than to hazard the loss of his own army, by a precipitate engagement.

The Scots, therefore, remained safe in their trenches, only altering their position now and then, to intercept the progress of the English, who were, at length, so reduced by famine and fatigue, that Cromwell began to think of retreating. At this juncture, Leslie was persuaded, much against his will, to venture a battle at Dunbar, which was lost by the Scots, of whom ten thousand were made prisoners, and driven, like herds of cattle, into England, from

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whence they were sent, as slaves, to the American plantations.

Cromwell wintered in Edinburgh, and then continued his march northward, hoping, perhaps, to encounter the king, who had been crowned at Scone, and was at the head of about eighteen thousand men; but Charles thought he should do better by going to England at once; and, accordingly, while Cromwell was advancing northward, he was proceeding towards the south. His hopes, however, were speedily terminated by the loss of the battle of Worcester; and he eventually escaped to the Continent.

When Cromwell found that the king had quitted Scotland, he left General Monk to reduce the country to subjection, and followed the royal army; while Monk, without much difficulty, soon suppressed the rest of the king's party, and declared Scotland to be a part of the Commonwealth. From that time to the restoration, a period of about nine years, the country was governed by commissioners, who, by the aid of a military force, established a union with England; so that no parliaments were held in Scotland during that period, but twenty-eight members were sent to London, from the different counties, cities, and burghs, to sit in the English parliament.

The people did not like the union, but it was useless to attempt to resist governors, whose power was supported by a standing army, and by a chain of forts, which gave them the command of the coast, and the trade of Scotland. During the whole of the Commonwealth, the people were much burthened with oppressive taxes; but many advantages followed from the change of government, among which may be noticed the total abolition of vassalage, with other remains of the ancient feudal customs and services.

One of the worst features of these times, was a belief in witchcraft, that prevailed to a shocking extent, not only among the poor and ignorant, but also among those whose

rank and education ought to have raised them above such absurd credulity. Every disaster that happened was attributed to supernatural influence; and many a poor helpless old woman was burnt as a witch, both in England and Scotland, on no other real grounds than her age and infirmities, which ought rather to have ensured her protection, than have exposed her to persecution.

At length, King Charles the Second was restored to the throne, an event that occasioned great rejoicing at first among the people of Scotland, who trusted that, as they had received and crowned him when disowned by the English, he would show his gratitude on his accession to power. They hoped, too, that as he had signed the covenant, and promised solemnly to defend their church, he would at least not interfere with it; but Charles, who was not famed either for gratitude or steadiness of principle, and, moreover, disliked the strictness of the Presbyterian religion, was no sooner at the head of the state, than he began to pursue the same course of conduct, with regard to Scotland, that had proved so fatal to his father.

He resolved to destroy the Presbyterian form of worship, to re-establish bishops, and to assimilate, in every respect, the Scottish church to that of England, although he knew this could only be done by the most violent and cruel means. The persecution of the Presbyterians was begun by the execution of the marquis of Argyll, who was their great supporter, and had made himself particularly obnoxious to the king, by the part he had taken in forcing him to sign the covenant, and submit to other religious forms that were distasteful to him, when he was in Scotland.

The power of this nobleman, who, being the chief of a large clan, had a great many dependents at his command, was the principal support of the Presbyterians, who looked up to him as their leader; and as the king was well aware that if he attempted to restore the order of bishops

in Scotland while Argyll was there to oppose him, he should be very likely to fail, he was base enough to invite him to court as a friend; and when he came, to send him to the Tower as a prisoner. A charge of treason was brought against him, and as the Scottish parliament had been restored, he was conveyed to Edinburgh to take his trial. There is little doubt that his judges were instructed to find him guilty, for he was condemned to die, although the charge was groundless; and on his requesting that his execution might be delayed for ten days, to give him time for an appeal to the king, his petition was refused; which would favour the belief that Charles did not wish to receive the appeal, but rather wanted to make it appear that the parliament of Scotland, and not himself, had passed judgment on him.

Argyll was beheaded on the second day after his trial. There were several circumstances connected with this unjust execution, that exhibit the king's ingratitude and want of feeling in a striking point of view. When he was in Scotland, he had professed so much regard for Argyll's daughter, that it was generally believed he intended to make her his bride; and on the occasion of his coronation at Scone, it was the marquis himself who placed the crown on his head; which caused that unfortunate nobleman to say, on hearing sentence of death pronounced against him,— ‘I placed the crown on his head, and this is my reward! but he hastens me to a better crown than his own.’

As soon as all fear of opposition from the marquis of Argyll was over, Charles appointed an archbishop of St. Andrews, and several new bishops, and sent them to Scotland, to take possession of their sees; and very soon afterwards, they took their seats in the Scottish parliament, like the bishops of England. Now all this was contrary to what had been the established religion of Scotland, and the people were so panic-struck at the violent innovation,

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that they made no resistance, till the parliament began to pass acts which occasioned the utmost consternation.

In the first place, it was ordained that every one should acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church; and secondly, that all persons, male and female, of every age, should abandon the covenant; and those who refused to do so, were subjected to the following heavy penalties. Land-holders were to forfeit a fourth part of their rents; tenants and citizens, a fourth part of their property, and the latter were to be prohibited from trading, and to be liable to any kind of punishment the council should think proper to inflict.

The governor of Scotland, at this time, was Lord Lauderdale, a man of a very tyrannical disposition, who sent commissioners into every district to enforce the new acts of parliament, with bodies of soldiers to assist them, who lived at free quarters on all who resisted the innovations of the government. You may easily imagine the wretched state of the country, when official persons were at liberty to enter any man's house, and oblige him to swear to what he disbelieved, and were allowed to imprison those who would not do so, or to fine them, which was almost worse; for in that case, soldiers were quartered in the house to eat, drink, and lodge, till the fine was paid; and these unwelcome guests were not very scrupulous in their behaviour, for they knew they should not be punished for any thing they might do.

In the west of Scotland, more than three hundred Presbyterian clergymen, with their families, were expelled from their homes, and driven to seek shelter in caves and among the mountains; for no one dared to afford them any relief, as that was accounted a crime, for which any person might be imprisoned.

The persecution of the Huguenots in France, was not more dreadful than that of the Presbyterians in Scotland, during these unhappy times. The prisons were crowded with Non-

conformists, that is, with the people who would not go to church, and use the common prayer-book; and when these melancholy habitations were so full that they could hold no more, the miserable prisoners were sent to the American plantations, and sold as slaves.

Still the majority of the people were so attached to their religion, that, as they were not permitted to meet for worship publicly, they held meetings on the mountains, or in the glens, and went well armed and mounted, that in case of being surprised by the government troops, they might be able to defend themselves; and it not unfrequently happened that they were interrupted in the midst of their devotions, and the clashing of swords succeeded to the voice of prayer. Great efforts were made by the government to abolish the meeting houses, or conventicles, as they were called, by declaring that all persons suspected of attending them, should be considered outlaws, and that, whoever should give food or shelter to the offenders, should be outlawed also; but notwithstanding this act, many received aid from their friends, and were often concealed from the vigilant search of the commissioners, in secret apartments, built in the thickness of the walls, which might be entered through sliding pannels, undiscernible by strangers. Such recesses were common in ancient buildings, and were used by Catholic families at the time of the Reformation, for the concealment of Catholic priests.

Spies were appointed by the government in every direction, to give information of any suspicious circumstances; and every innkeeper was at liberty to require travellers to state whence they came, whither they were going, and even to ask their name and business. Some gentlemen of rank and fortune, weary of such tyranny, emigrated to the American colonies; while others, to save themselves and their families from total ruin, consented to attend the episcopal churches. All the most respectable people were wise enough

to adopt the latter course; so that in time the Covenanters, instead of being the great body of the nation, were reduced to a few bands of enthusiasts, whose conventicles became more like congregations of furious fanatics, than meetings held for the purpose of serious worship.

These unhappy people were hunted down by the soldiers, who had orders to shoot them wherever they were found; nor were they backward in retaliating upon their oppressors, whenever an opportunity offered. A tragical instance of this occurred, in the murder of Dr. Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, who was accidentally met by a party of Covenanters, as he was riding along the road in a carriage with his daughter. This prelate had been originally a Covenanter, but was induced to desert from that party, and accept the archbishopric of St. Andrews; after which, he became a severe and merciless persecutor of those who still adhered to the principles which he had himself professed. His conduct excited a spirit of hatred and revenge against him; the opportunity for gratifying it was not lost, and the old man was dragged from the arms of his daughter, and left dead in the road. After this murder, the assassins were joined by great numbers of their brethren, well armed, and ready for any desperate deeds.

A celebrated general, Graham of Claverhouse, was sent with three troops of horse, to disperse them; but they had collected so strong a force, that he was driven back, and the insurgents took possession of the city of Glasgow, declaring their determination to destroy the enemies of their faith by fire and sword.

The king being informed of this insurrection, sent down to Scotland the duke of Monmouth, who immediately put himself at the head of the army, and marched towards Glasgow, where he gained a victory over the Covenanters, in the battle of Bothwell-bridge; on which occasion, above

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five hundred of them were killed, and double that number taken prisoners. This battle took place in the year 1679.

From this time to the Revolution, when the Stuarts, in the person of James the Second, were expelled from the throne, and William, Prince of Orange, became king of England, the history of Scotland consists entirely of the troubles occasioned by religious disputes. James the Second made several attempts to re-establish the Catholic religion; and when he was opposed by the parliament, he deprived the Scottish royal burghs of their privilege of electing their own magistrates annually; taking upon himself the power of naming the provost, and giving him the right of choosing the other magistrates and the common council; by which means he was enabled to secure the election of such members of parliament as would not oppose him.

But he did not succeed in his favourite object, and the attempt only served to make him unpopular among the Scots, who were not sorry when, after having exercised the sovereign authority for three years, he was deposed, and William of Orange chosen king in his stead. Still there were persons in Scotland, as well as in England, always ready to aid the cause of the Stuarts, and this party obtained the name of Jacobites, from the Latin word *Jacobus*, James.

Among the chief of these was, Graham of Claverhouse, who was now Viscount Dundee, and was one of the same family as the celebrated Montrose. As soon as this brave nobleman knew that King James had been compelled to fly from England, he undertook to raise ten thousand men in the Highlands, and march with them into England, to expel William and his Dutchmen, and replace James on the throne.

The Highland clans were assembled; but their leader was killed in a battle, fought at Killicrankie, near Dunkeld; and as he was the man on whom the Jacobites of Scotland

placed their chief dependence, no further efforts were made to restore the king, and the Highlanders returned to their mountains. About this time, there was a terrible famine in the Highlands, and many families perished, in consequence of a failure of the crops for three successive seasons.

During this calamity, an affecting incident took place in the county of Inverness. Here, in a sequestered spot among the mountains, called Clunes, dwelt several families, who, after subsisting for two years on the herbs they had collected in the summer, and the wild mustard-seed which they had ground into meal for their winter food, were reduced to so miserable a condition, that they agreed at length to desert their dwellings; and coming down all together to the plains, they tenderly embraced each other, and dispersed, with hearts half broken, to go wherever chance might direct them, with scarcely a hope of ever meeting again.

FROM

THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION.

1688 to 1707.

THE change effected by the revolution in England, was the happy means of restoring peace to Scotland, as the new king, William the Third, was too just and too good a man to continue the persecution, which had disgraced the reigns of his predecessors, Charles and James; therefore, he removed the bishops, and allowed the people to settle the church as it was before the Restoration of Charles the Second.

Still there was a party in Scotland, as well as in England, that remained attached to the exiled royal family of the

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Stuarts; and several conspiracies were formed in the beginning of William's reign, with a view of replacing James the Second on the throne; but they were detected and suppressed; and in less than two years after the revolution, the whole of Scotland, except the Highlands, had peacefully submitted to the new government.

I must not omit to mention one of the first and happiest consequences of the revolution to the Scots, which was, the total abolition of the horrible practice of using torture, to extort confessions. The disuse of this barbarous custom must indeed have been a most invaluable blessing, for there was no country in which it had been more frequently or more cruelly practised.

The government in the Lowland part of Scotland was settled upon the same principles as in England; but the Highlanders, who were not easily reconciled to the expulsion of their ancient race of monarchs, were many of them in open rebellion.

The earl of Breadalbane, a nobleman who had extensive possessions and great influence in the Highlands, was entrusted with a large sum of money to distribute among the chiefs, for the purpose of inducing them the more readily to submit, thus to prevent the necessity of resorting to any harsh measures; for William the Third, as compared with some others, was a merciful prince, and was unwilling to exercise severity, where it could be avoided. But the earl of Breadalbane, and other officers in Scotland, were not quite so scrupulous; and the former, it is believed, withheld the money, intending to appropriate it to his own use, in the hope that he should be able, by some other means, to oblige the Highlanders to lay down their arms. He, therefore, privately endeavoured to persuade the chiefs to pretend to submit to the present government, till some opportunity should offer of resuming their arms with advantage to the banished king.

In the meantime, however, it was discovered that the chiefs had themselves sent to James the Second, who was an exile in France, requesting him to permit them to make a show of submission to the new king, with the understanding that they would be ready, at any time, to take up arms again in his cause, whenever he should command them to do so. When this secret correspondence was discovered, a proclamation was issued, that all the heads of the clans who did not appear before the sheriffs or the earl, on or before a certain day appointed, to take the oath of fealty to the king and queen, should be liable to military execution; which meant that they might be killed by the soldiers without a trial; and this was the fate of the unfortunate clan of the Macdonalds, who inhabited the valley of Glencoe.

The massacre of Glencoe is one of the principal events that occurred in Scotland during the reign of William the Third, and has affixed a stigma on the memory of that monarch, although it is said that he was deceived by false representations, and persuaded to give his consent to an act he would have abhorred, had he been made aware of the true circumstances. Macdonald, the chief of the devoted clan, had incurred the hatred of the earl of Breadalbane, by having plundered his lands, and driven away his cattle, at various times; and also by having given private information that the earl had proposed to him, and others, to make a pretended submission to King William.

No notice had been taken of the information, but the earl, who knew that he had betrayed him, determined to be revenged on him and his whole clan. The day fixed for taking the oaths had nearly arrived, and every Highland laird had appeared except Macdonald of Glencoe, who, however, presented himself for that purpose before the governor of Fort William within the time specified; but as the governor was not a civil magistrate, he could not receive his submission, but sent him to the sheriff of Argyll, recom-

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mending him to make what speed he could, lest he should be too late for the appointed day; in which case, he would lose the benefit of the pardon.

The chief set forward in haste towards Inverary, but having to travel in the depth of winter, and the roads being bad, he did not arrive till after the time stated. The sheriff, at first, told him the day was past, and he must abide by the consequences of his neglect; but when he heard how the delay had been occasioned, and saw the tears streaming down the cheeks of the rough old warrior, he consented to receive his oath of allegiance, and promised to put his name in the list of those who had complied with the terms of the proclamation; on which Macdonald returned to his native valley with a light heart, thinking that he and his clan were safe.

But he little foresaw the consequences of his tardiness. Had he taken care to have been in time, the circumstance of his submission could not have been concealed from the king, and then he would have been secure; but as it was, his name was either suppressed altogether, or mentioned so as to make it appear that he was a dangerous rebel, and that his example influenced the rest of the Highlanders, and encouraged them to break the laws. The king, therefore, was induced to give an order, signed with his own hand, for the extermination of the whole clan of the Macdonalds: and most fearfully were his orders executed.

A detachment of soldiers was conducted to the valley of Glencoe, by an officer named Campbell, whose niece was married to one of Macdonald's sons; consequently, he was looked upon as a relation, and he and his followers were received with the utmost kindness. They were to wait for orders from their superior officers, before they made any attack on their unsuspecting hosts; and for a whole fortnight, they partook of the rude hospitality of the Highland chief and his clansmen; eating and drinking with them, and

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joining in all their amusements. At last arrived the fatal order; the unfortunate inhabitants of Glencoe were attacked and murdered at midnight, in their sleep, by the guests they had been entertaining, and who suffered none under the age of seventy to escape.

I will not describe the horrors of this fatal night, nor the scene of desolation that presented itself in the morning. Suffice it to say, that the chief and his people, men, women, and children, had all been slain; the cottages were converted into a heap of ashes; the cattle were all gone, and a gloomy silence reigned in that late happy valley.

From the massacre of Glencoe, which took place in the year 1692, to the union of the English and Scottish parliaments in 1707, nothing very remarkable occurred. It was after the union that trade began to flourish, that manufactures were introduced, and that the people of Scotland began to enjoy the freedom of commerce which contributes, in the highest degree, to the wealth and prosperity of a nation.

FROM THE

UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND,

TO

THE FIRST REBELLION.

1707 to 1715.

FROM the time of the union of the two crowns, it had been the earnest desire of the English government, to unite the two kingdoms more completely, by having only one legislative assembly for both; by making their interest the same; and by giving one general name to the whole island. The Scots had always opposed this measure, because they

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thought that, by submitting to it, they should be giving up their independence as a nation, and suffering their country to become a mere province of England; but if they could have foreseen all the benefits that were fated to arise from the projected union, they would have been as anxious as the English were to promote it.

Hitherto, the merchants of Scotland had not been allowed to trade to America, or to any of the English colonies in the East or West Indies, and their commerce with England had been very limited; but by the treaty of union, they were allowed to have the same privileges in trading to all English possessions in every part of the world, as the English themselves enjoyed, which was manifestly of great advantage to them. Still the people of Scotland, generally, were but little disposed to join themselves with a people who had been their enemies during so many centuries; and while the question was being debated in the Scottish parliament, there were terrible riots in Edinburgh, where the mob paraded the streets at night, put out the lights, and broke the windows of all the members who were favourable to the union.

Nor were these disturbances confined to the capital. Glasgow, Perth, Dumfries, and most of the principal towns, were in a state of tumult. Happily, however, the people were brought, by degrees, to reflect on the good that was likely to result from entering, as it were, into partnership with a more wealthy nation; and, at last, the treaty of union was concluded, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Anne, and England and Scotland became one kingdom, under the name of Great Britain. The last Scottish parliament was dissolved on the twenty-fifth of March, 1707; and on the first of May in the same year, the Scottish members took their seats in the English Houses of Parliament; sixteen peers in the House of Lords, and forty-five representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, in the House of Commons.

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The chief articles of the treaty were, that no alterations should be made in the church of Scotland; that the laws and customs, with regard to trade, should be made the same in all parts of the united kingdom; that the Scotch cattle taken into England should not be liable to a higher duty than English cattle; that money should be granted by parliament to promote manufactures in Scotland; that the Scottish royal burghs should retain all their ancient privileges; and that no persons should be deprived of those hereditary rights and offices which they had enjoyed by the laws of Scotland; so that private individuals were not injured by the change in the constitution of the country; while a prospect was opened to the community at large of becoming, what the Scots had never yet been, a great commercial nation.

However, we must not suppose that the advantages of the union have been all in favour of our northern neighbours. It was of great advantage to England that she had thus been able to secure the important co-operation of the Scots, whose assistance, in time of war, has proved of most essential service; and whose skill and industry has contributed, in a high degree, towards the prosperity of both nations.

But a long time elapsed before the blessings of the union were duly felt and appreciated in Scotland, and its first effects were not such as to reconcile the people to the new order of things. Most of the principal families removed to London; for they had now no parliamentary duties to call them to Edinburgh; and their absence was a source of great discontent to the shopkeepers.

The taxes, too, were increased; and, certainly, it was but fair, that those who were to share in the national profits, should also bear a part of the expenses; but the taxes had to be paid at once, while the profits to be derived from a more extended commerce, were yet only prospective; where-

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fore the people, generally, were discontented, and again began to form conspiracies for restoring the exiled Stuarts to the throne.

James the Second was dead, but he had left a son, now about nineteen, who was called the Chevalier de St. George; and it was he whom the Jacobites of Scotland wished to place on the throne, in the hope of dissolving the union. Their first conspiracy was discovered, and many gentlemen of rank were arrested, and confined in different prisons and fortresses in Scotland; while others were sent to the Tower of London; but although the rebellion was suppressed for the present, it broke out again with more violence, shortly after the accession of George the First.

The great leaders of the Jacobites in Scotland, were the dukes of Athol and Hamilton; and there were many other persons of rank and fortune, who were disposed to take up arms for the Chevalier; but the Lowland gentry were not so powerful as they used to be in former days, when all the lower orders were under their control. The feudal times were past, and every peasant was at liberty to use his own free will, on such occasions as the present; therefore, no nobleman or gentleman could reckon, with certainty, upon any very great number of troops among his tenantry.

In the Highlands, the case was different. Every chief had his whole clan at his absolute command, and most of them were attached to the exiled royal family. These Highland lairds were now, generally, men of good education; and when they mixed in Lowland society, there was nothing, either in their manners or appearance, to distinguish them from their southern neighbours; but not so with the Highland peasantry, who still retained their ancient usages, wore their national costume, and spoke only the Gaelic language.

It was, therefore, on the Highlanders that the Scottish Jacobites depended for their chief support, whenever they

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should raise the standard of the Stuarts. The Pretender, as he was called, held a secret correspondence with the earl of Mar, who was at the court of London, and from whom the leaders of the conspiracy in Scotland received their instructions.

It was in the month of August, 1715, that the earl of Mar, in obedience to the command of the Chevalier, embarked, in disguise, in a coal vessel at Gravesend, whence he sailed for Scotland, and landed in Fifeshire, where he was joyfully received by the Jacobite party, and began to take active but secret measures for raising troops. He dispatched messengers to invite all the Highland chieftains, and other lairds, who were known to be friendly to the Stuart cause, to join him in a great hunting match in the forest of Braemar. To this pretended hunt, the clans marched down in great numbers: and the Lowland lairds, at the head of as many men as they could collect, all habited in the Highland costume, repaired to the place of meeting, where, while their followers were engaged in chasing the red deer, the chiefs were occupied in arranging their plans.

The result of this meeting was, that the earl of Mar erected the banner of the Chevalier de St. George at Castleton, in Braemar, and proclaimed him as James the Eighth of Scotland, and Third of England, Ireland, and the British Colonies. Thus commenced the fatal contest that ruined, for many years, the domestic peace of Scotland; for there was scarcely a family the members of which were all of the same political opinions; so that the nearest relatives became foes, and many parents, who were attached to the existing government, had the misery of seeing their sons in the ranks of the rebels.

The merchants, and better class of citizens, who were just beginning to derive some benefit from their newly-established trading intercourse with America and the Indies, were not desirous of any change; therefore, the principal

men of Edinburgh and Glasgow raised regiments of volunteers for King George; and this example was soon followed in most of the great towns; while the main army, under the command of the duke of Argyll, was held in readiness for action. The insurgents, however, gained possession of Perth, and made it their head quarters, intending to wait for the arrival of the Chevalier.

It was about this time, that the Jacobites met with a severe misfortune in the death of Louis the Fourteenth, who had been their most powerful supporter, and on whose aid they had relied, for the success of their present enterprise. The troops were disheartened by this event, for they had been taught to expect a large reinforcement of men, money, arms, and provisions from France; and when they found that no supplies came, and that the great monarch who was to have sent them, was dead, they deserted the camp; and several of the Highland clans returned to the mountains.

The earl of Mar now became very uneasy at the gloomy prospect before him; and seeing that nothing but the presence of the Chevalier himself, could save his cause from ruin, he wrote to him, earnestly entreating that he would hasten to place himself at the head of his army.

In the meanwhile, several engagements took place between the troops of Mar and those of Argyll, in which neither gained any very decided advantage; but each encounter weakened the Jacobite forces, as they never quitted the field without considerable loss, and gained no fresh partizans to supply the place of their slain. While the friends of the Pretender were thus losing ground in Scotland, they were not more fortunate in England, where the rising had been very general in the northern counties.

But I need not enlarge upon their disasters; their defeat at Preston, the melancholy fate of their companions who were made prisoners there, and the suppression of the rebellion in England; all which is related in the history of that

country; therefore, I shall only refer to the ill-fortune of the English Jacobites, as another reason why many of them in Scotland abandoned the cause in despair, and returned to their homes, hoping, by that means, to avoid the fatal consequences of having joined in the rebellion.

Still, the earl of Mar thought it his duty to keep his troops together till the arrival of the Chevalier, who, at length, made his appearance; but instead of bringing with him the expected succours, he arrived almost alone, having with him only six gentlemen, and being quite destitute of money and arms to aid his cause. The earl of Mar, with a few other noblemen and officers, went to meet him at Aberdeen; but they had no cheering intelligence to give to the disappointed prince, who accompanied them to Perth, with a sad heart, and with an air of dejection which was little likely to revive the drooping spirits of the soldiers. In fact, the unhappy prince, who had been neglected abroad since the death of his patron, Louis, saw from the moment of his landing in Scotland, that his cause was hopeless; and being naturally of a desponding temper, he gave himself up to despair, and appeared amongst his partizans as a weak-hearted, incompetent leader, instead of a spirited hero, ready to animate them by his example, and to share in the dangers they had shewn themselves willing to encounter for his sake.

As soon as the duke of Argyll knew that the Pretender was in Scotland, he thought it was time to take more active measures than he had yet adopted. He, therefore, conducted his army towards Perth, and entered the city without opposition; for the news of his approach spread such alarm among the insurgents, that they did not attempt to defend their position, but marched quietly out of the town, and retreated to the sea-port of Montrose. Whilst here, the Chevalier, with the earl of Mar and other persons of distinction, left their apartments privately in the night, and

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embarked on board a vessel, which conveyed them from the scene of misery and confusion they had themselves created, leaving others to suffer the fatal consequences of their rash enterprise.

Great was the indignation of the insurgents on finding they were deserted not only by their general, but by the prince for whom they had risked so much. The rebel army was immediately disbanded; the Highlanders marched away to their native wilds, and the Lowlanders endeavoured to conceal themselves in various hiding places, until they could meet with some opportunity of leaving the country; and thus ended the Great Rebellion of 1715, which proved the ruin of some of the most ancient and most illustrious families in Scotland; for those who escaped death were outlawed, and their estates were forfeited to the crown.

FROM THE

FIRST TO THE SECOND GREAT REBELLION.

1715 to 1745.

ONE of the most remarkable characters in Scotland at this period was the celebrated Rob Roy, the chief of the Mac Gregor clan, which had been outlawed by James the Sixth. Rob Roy had been engaged in the late rebellion, but he seems to have played a double part, for while he apparently sided with Mar and the Highlanders, it is suspected he gave information of their movements to the duke of Argyll.

This bold freebooter and his clan inhabited the lands adjoining Ben Lomond, where they lived like Robin Hood and his lawless band, robbing the rich, and giving freely to the poor. There are some curious anecdotes told of this re-

nowned Highland chieftain, which may serve to amuse, as also to give some insight into the manners of the Highlanders at this period.

Just after the termination of the Rebellion, Rob Roy and a neighbouring chief, named Macdonald, borrowed some money from the duke of Montrose to buy cattle; but Macdonald contriving to get the money into his possession, disappeared, leaving Rob Roy to pay the debt, which he was unable to do; the duke, therefore, seized on his lands, and turned his tenants out of their cottages, which he gave to his own people.

The bold chief being determined to take revenge for this injury, caused it to be reported that he had gone to Ireland, while, in reality, he had concealed himself, with a few trusty clansmen, in the passes of Ben Lomond, waiting for an opportunity of putting his threat into execution. When rent day arrived, the duke's factor went round to the new tenants to collect their rents; but as he was returning, he was suddenly surrounded by a party of armed Highlanders, and, to his great astonishment, beheld Rob Roy at their head, who demanded the rents as his right; and as it was useless for the factor, who was alone, to make any resistance, he gave up the money, for which Rob gave him a regular receipt as though for the payment of a just debt.

After this exploit, Rob Roy went into Argyllshire, where he dwelt for years, under the protection of the duke of Argyll, and never ceased to annoy the duke of Montrose, who was at variance with his patron. He frequently sent out parties of men, to carry off his corn, meal, and cattle, and obliged the tenants to pay black mail, as a security for their property. This black mail was a tax levied by the robber chief on every farmer on Montrose's estate. Those who paid it, were not molested; but those who did not, were liable to the constant depredations of the daring outlaws.

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Rob Roy, however, was not without good nature, though he sometimes exercised it in a rather whimsical manner; for instance:—Being told that a poor farmer was about to be turned out of his farm, because he could not pay his rent, he sent him a sufficient sum to do so; taking care, at the same time, to learn when the factor would call to receive it. The rent was paid, and the factor was going home very contentedly, when he was met by Rob, who re-possessed himself of the money he had given to the farmer.

Many of the ancient customs were now fast wearing away, and great improvements were being made in many parts of the Highlands, both with regard to the country and its inhabitants. Immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, commissioners were appointed by government, to make a progress through the northern districts, and see what might be done to improve the country, and establish peace and order amongst the clans.

One of the chief obstacles to the progress of civilization in the Highlands, was the want of roads, many parts being quite inaccessible to any but those who had been accustomed, from childhood, to climb the pathless mountains. It was the wildness of the country that had enabled the Highlanders to maintain their freedom, which was more prized by them, than any advantages they might gain through a more ready intercourse with their neighbours; therefore they were far from being pleased at seeing men employed in making good roads through every part of the Highlands, though the work was done at the expense of the government. The plan, however, succeeded; and in the course of a few years, it was as easy to travel in that part of Scotland, as in any other.

In consequence of the expenses incurred in making these roads, and establishing schools in the Highlands, several new taxes were imposed; and, besides others, a duty upon ale, which occasioned many disturbances in the towns, be-

cause it was laid on the common beverage of the working people. The town of Glasgow was the principal scene of tumult. The excise officers, whose duty it was to enforce the payment of this tax, were threatened by the mob; nor was the riot suppressed till the military had been called out, and some lives were lost; after which, tranquillity was restored, and the tax was ultimately continued.

The Custom-house and excise duties to which Scotland had been subjected since the Union, had given rise to an extensive contraband trade, and many parts of the coast were frequented by smugglers of the most desperate character. Two of these men, named Robertson and Wilson, who were well known in Fifeshire, were detected in landing some brandy and tea, for which they had not paid the duty, and their goods were therefore seized, and taken to the Custom-house by the revenue officers. The smugglers, irritated at the loss, made an attempt to recover the forfeited goods, by robbing the Custom-house, for which they were tried, and condemned to death. Their fate excited much compassion, for smuggling was not regarded as a very serious offence by a people who hated the revenue officers, and looked upon custom-house dues as a grievous imposition; and it was this feeling, of which advantage was taken by one of the prisoners to escape, and this led to a terrible catastrophe, which will scarcely ever be forgotten in Scotland.

On the Sunday before the day appointed for the execution of the two culprits, they were taken to church, according to a usual custom, attended by a guard of four soldiers. The service being ended, they were returning through the church to the prison, when Wilson, who was a tall, powerful man, seized two of the guards with his hands, and shouting to his companion to flee, seized, with his teeth, another of the guards, who was marching before. Robertson instantly sprang forwards, leaped over the pews, and being favoured by the crowd, made his escape, and was

never heard of more; while his generous friend, who had made this bold effort to save him, suffered the penalty of his offences.

The mob, on the occasion of his execution, being rather tumultuous, Captain Porteous, the commander of the city guard, which had been called out to prevent the rescue of the prisoner, ordered the soldiers to fire, and many persons were killed. Porteous was arrested, and tried for murder; and there being several citizens among the jury, whose friends were in the number of the slain, he was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to death. His case, however, was taken into consideration by the government, and a reprieve was sent to Edinburgh the night before his execution was to have taken place, which occasioned so much disappointment among the people, that a party assembled in the middle of the night, broke into the prison, dragged the unfortunate man from the chimney, in which he had endeavoured to conceal himself, and accompanied by a large mob, carried him in triumph to the usual place of execution, where they hanged him. The crowd then dispersed; and it is remarkable, that, although every exertion was used to find out who had been concerned in this dreadful deed, not one of the conspirators was ever discovered; which gave rise to suspicion, that the Porteous mob, as this disturbance is usually called, was composed of persons far above the common order.

From this time, to the rebellion of 1745, nothing requiring notice occurred in Scotland. The country had not yet had time to grow rich by means of commerce, which, nevertheless, was gradually increasing; and a council was instituted in 1727, at Edinburgh, for the encouragement of the linen and woollen manufactures, which, however, were not carried on, to any great extent, till a later period.

The landholders, with a few exceptions, were poor, and as money was scarce, they were obliged to receive a great part

of their rents in kind. The inconvenience attendant on a want of money, was so severely felt among the Scottish nobility, that many of them had recourse to old feudal customs, to increase their incomes, and the tenants, on some estates, were bound to take all their corn to be ground at the landlord's mill, and to pay him a heavy duty for every measure. They were also obliged to perform certain services, one of which was digging coals and peat, for firing. As this often hindered them from attending to their own fields, they were kept very poor; and as they had no leases of their farms, but only held them from year to year, they were at the mercy of the lords, whom they dared not disobey.

In the rural districts, the poverty of the people was visible in the wretchedness of their habitations, and the slovenly way in which agriculture was carried on. There were no inclosures, except about gentlemen's gardens; the farmers had no carts, and their implements of husbandry were few, and of the commonest kind. The wages of a man-servant did not exceed fifteen shillings for half a year, and a woman was allowed only ten. They had no wheaten bread; and in many places, only three cows were killed, to supply beef for a whole parish through the winter.

The gentry in the country had no carriages, but rode to church on horseback; but in the great towns, carriages were used, and before the breaking out of the rebellion, hackney-coaches were introduced into Edinburgh.

THE REBELLION OF 1745.

I now purpose to give you an account of the rebellion that took place in the time of George the Second, the hero of which was Charles Edward Stuart, the eldest son of the

Chevalier de St. George. This prince, an elegant and accomplished young man, was born in Italy, and at the time of his rash attempt to obtain the sovereignty of Great Britain, was about twenty-five years of age.

He was stimulated to the enterprise by the French government, and provided with two ships and a few troops, with which he embarked for Scotland early in the year 1745; but losing one of his vessels on the voyage, in consequence of an engagement with an English ship of war, he reached the Hebrides with a very slender train. Here he was joined by several friendly clans, for the spirit of Jacobitism was far from being extinguished in Scotland, and prevailed more particularly in the Highlands, where most of the chiefs were hostile to the existing government.

The Chevalier de St. George was still living, therefore his son announced himself as the champion of his father's rights, for whom he was to act as regent, in the event of his restoration, of which he appeared very confident. The gallant bearing and affable manners of the young prince, were peculiarly adapted to the taste of the Highlanders; and there were many chiefs, who though they had, perhaps, but faint hopes of the success of the undertaking, yet were induced to join the young adventurer, and promise to stand by him to the last.

For some time, the arrival of the Chevalier was kept a secret, except from those who were known to be his friends; but the excitement that prevailed among the Jacobite party, attracted the suspicions of the government authorities, so that several persons were arrested, while troops were sent from different forts to reconnoitre the Highlands, where parties of men had been seen carrying arms.

Several skirmishes had taken place, even before it was generally known that the prince was in Scotland, or that any rising in favour of the Stuarts was contemplated. At length the standard of rebellion was raised at Glenfinnan,

and the Highland clans assembled in such numbers, that the prince soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, and marching boldly down from the mountains, took possession of Perth, where he caused his father to be proclaimed as James the Eighth, and himself as Regent of Britain. His followers were enthusiastic in his cause, for he wisely accommodated himself to their habits and prejudices, wearing the Highland costume, sleeping on the bare ground wrapped in his plaid, and sharing their rude and simple fare.

When the people of Edinburgh heard of the approach of Charles and his Highland troops, the confusion was extreme. The magistrates called meetings of the principal citizens, to deliberate whether it would be better to attempt to defend the city, or to surrender it quietly to the rebels; and as there were many who were Jacobites in their hearts, and really wished to see the prince in possession of the capital; and many others who were terrified at the idea of the city being plundered by the wild Highlanders, whom they pictured to themselves as a horde of savages, the prevailing opinion was in favour of giving up the city, as there was not a military force sufficient to defend it.

A deputation was then sent to the prince, who was encamped within two miles of the town, to make the best terms they could; but scarcely had they set forth, when news was brought that a fleet had arrived from England with troops, who were hastening to the relief of the city.

The magistrates and friends of the government were then sorry they had offered to capitulate, and sent off another deputation to gain time; but the prince, who had also heard of the arrival of the English fleet, and knew that there was no time to be lost, sent word that, if the gates were not opened before two o'clock in the morning, he should take the city by storm.

The gates were opened before the appointed time, but whether by design or accident, does not clearly appear. A

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party of Highlanders, however, entered in the night, and on the following morning, Charles Edward rode into the capital, where he was received with loud acclamations, and took up his abode at Holyrood-house, the palace of his ancestors.

The prince had many gentlemen of rank in his train, though his followers were, for the most part, but scantily clothed and badly armed. He ordered that his father should be proclaimed at the market-cross, and that the magistrates should sanction the ceremony, by attending in their official robes; and in the evening, he gave a grand ball at the palace, which was attended by most of the great families then in Edinburgh. The ladies of Scotland were as much interested in the politics of the times as their male relatives, and the sentiments of either party were denoted by a particular manner of wearing their plaids.

Meanwhile, the English troops, under the command of Sir John Cope, had landed, and were advancing towards the capital. The prince eagerly set forth to meet them, and gained a great victory at the battle of Prestonpans; after which he returned to Edinburgh in triumph. This success gave new and bright hopes to the Jacobites, and induced many who had hitherto remained neuter to join the rebel army.

Charles now held a regular court at Holyrood, and published his mandates, as though he had been really a sovereign prince. He was surrounded by noblemen and ladies of distinction, and was at this time exceedingly popular. But his glory was only short-lived, and all the advantages he had gained were lost as soon as he ventured into England. His sanguine temper had led him to expect that he should there be joined by a host of friends; but although he and his Highland soldiers were suffered to pass from town to town with little opposition, very few persons seemed disposed to embrace a cause so dangerous, more

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particularly as active preparations were making in England to suppress the insurrection.

The absence of the young Chevalier had given the Scottish authorities time to recover from their consternation, and provide means of defence; for the Jacobites, though numerous, were far from being the strongest party in the Lowlands, where the towns were garrisoned, and new regiments were raised all over the country.

Charles Edward had advanced as far as Derby, when his chief officers, who saw that in England, at least, his cause was hopeless, persuaded him to return; and he very reluctantly retraced his steps to Scotland, where he no longer had the command of the capital, and was, in all respects, in a much worse position than when he quitted it.

The rest of this unhappy war may be related in a few words. The duke of Cumberland, who had taken the command of the English army, crossed the borders at the head of a considerable force, and marched direct to Edinburgh; while prince Charles took quite a different route towards the Highlands. In his way, he several times encountered parties of his enemies, and on one occasion, gained a victory at Falkirk, which renewed his hopes and spirits; but he was obliged to retreat from Stirling-castle, to which he had laid siege, and take up his quarters at Inverness.

The duke of Cumberland had, in the mean time, removed his troops to Aberdeen, where he remained till the spring, when he resolved to endeavour to put an end to the war, at once, by a decisive battle. The two armies met at Culloden, where the Chevalier was totally defeated, and, with difficulty, made his escape to the Hebrides.

The battle of Culloden was fought on the sixteenth of April, 1746, and was followed by all those sanguinary punishments which are consequent upon an unsuccessful rebellion. A great number of military executions took place on the spot, by command of the royal duke, who is thought

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to have acted with too much severity on the occasion; the prisons, both in England and Scotland, were filled with Jacobites, who were arrested in all parts of the kingdom; and a large reward was offered for the prince himself, who had taken refuge in South Uist, among the people of Clan-ronald, a chief who had been one of the first to take up arms in his cause, and was now faithful to him in his misfortunes.

The island, however, was soon beset by the government soldiers, and Charles was compelled to seek some other retreat. During five months, the unhappy prince wandered from place to place, sometimes disguised in female attire, sometimes in the garb of a serving man, and was even reduced to such extremity, as to be obliged to walk barefooted.

But wherever chance directed his steps, he was always kindly received, and protected by those to whom he revealed his name; which was the more honourable on their part, as they were mostly poor people, to whom it might be supposed the reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for his apprehension would have been an irresistible temptation; but not even for that large sum was any one found ungenerous enough to betray him into the hands of his enemies. At length, Charles received intelligence that a ship was in readiness to convey him to France; and he embarked in it, with a number of gentlemen, who were glad to save their lives by banishing themselves from the country.

The trials, executions, and confiscations of property, that followed this fatal rebellion, give a melancholy character to this part of the history of the United Kingdom; and many years elapsed before the families of those who had been implicated in it recovered from the sad effects of their imprudence. But as there is seldom an evil without some attendant good, so it will be found that the wild attempt of Charles Stuart to recover the throne of his ancestors, which, had it proved successful, would most likely have been a very un-

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fortunate event for the kingdom, was, in the end, the means of terminating that rude state of society in the Highlands, which had always been a bar to the peace and civilization of that part of the country. The system of improvement, that had been begun after the first rebellion, was carried to a much greater extent. The number of schools was considerably increased; and every means adopted to facilitate the intercourse of the highlanders with the more civilized districts.

The rebellion of 1745, is the last historical event of importance that occurred in Scotland. All that remains to be told, relates to the rapid growth of the peaceful arts, the extension of commerce, the refinement of manners, the introduction of manufactures, the wonderful improvement of the towns, and the progress of the country generally, in wealth, prosperity, and happiness.

PRESENT STATE OF SCOTLAND.

WHEN we contrast the present prosperous and happy condition of Scotland with its former state of poverty and wretchedness, we must at once feel convinced, that it would have been a great misfortune to the country, if the princes of the House of Stuart had been restored to the Scottish throne, and thus have dissolved the Union which is so beneficial to both countries.

Nothing appears more obvious than that it is the interest of two nations inhabiting the same island, to unite in all things for their mutual benefit and defence; yet national prejudices are not easily overcome; and it is not surprising that the Scots should, at first, have been dissatisfied with a measure which put an end to their political independence,

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and of which the advantages were not likely to be felt for a number of years.

It was this dissatisfaction that induced so many persons to join in the rebellions; and there is little doubt, that some of the chiefs who took a part in them, did so rather with the hope of recovering their ancient influence and authority over their clans, than from any strong feelings of attachment to the exiled Stuarts.

Little had hitherto been done by the government for the encouragement of trade and manufactures in Scotland. English merchants were unwilling that the Scots should share in their foreign trade, whilst no advances were made in agriculture. The Scots had little commerce, and consequently were too poor to carry on manufactures to any great extent; nor was it till some time after the termination of the second rebellion, that the blessings of the union began to be generally felt, and that the Scots became fully aware of the advantage of being incorporated with a people more wealthy, more powerful, and more advanced in arts, than themselves.

You have already seen how complete a revolution took place in Scotland, through the dissolution of that system of clanship which was, in the first instance, brought from Ireland, and had existed ever since the time of the Scoto-Irish kings. Many of the chiefs who had been concerned in the rebellion, went abroad, to escape the fatal consequences of their treasonable conduct; and their estates, which then became the property of the crown, were placed under the superintendence of a committee, appointed by government to manage all the forfeited lands to the best advantage. The profits arising from them were employed in forming roads, more particularly into and through the Highlands, establishing schools, and improving the manufactures of the country, which soon began to make an astonishing progress.

The merchants of Scotland were also admitted to an equitable share in the trade with America, and were soon

able to send out their own manufactures from Glasgow and other towns, in return for which, they imported large quantities of tobacco; and as their commerce was extended, so their wealth and prosperity was gradually increased. The abolition of clanship, by putting an end to private warfare, left the people at liberty to exert themselves for the improvement of their own condition; and as they were no longer in fear of English invasion, they were encouraged to improve their lands, to which they had no sufficient inducement while they were in daily fear that their crops might be destroyed by a hostile army. Before the union, no man had any certain security for life or property; either of which was liable to be destroyed by any clan with which he happened to be at feud; but after the kingdom had been united, justice was more equitably administered, and lives as well as property were protected.

The people of Scotland are now enriched by a just participation in the foreign trade of England, and by the introduction of various manufactures: whilst the value of their soil has been greatly increased by an additional demand for agricultural produce consequent upon the increase of commerce and manufactures, which has induced a more constant cultivation; and by the adoption of the improvements that have been made in agriculture. There are extensive cotton factories in and about Glasgow, which is the chief manufacturing and trading town in Scotland, and which has lately been much improved, both in extent and beauty. Silks are made at Paisley, Glasgow, and Edinburgh; and there are large woollen factories in Aberdeen, Stirling, Argyll, and several other counties. The tartans that are so much admired, are made at Stirling and Bannockburn.

In short, the manufactures of Scotland, like those of England, are now various and extensive; but these would not be of much use to the people, indeed they would never have been established, if they could not find a ready sale for

them in England and the British colonies; and these markets would not be open to the Scots, were it not for the friendly bond of union that has made them and the English one people.

The increasing prosperity of Scotland is nowhere more strikingly visible than in the rural districts, in which, instead of the miserable huts that, previously to the end of the last century, served as habitations for the peasantry, there may now be seen numerous cottages, as clean and as comfortable as any to be met with in English villages; whilst the farm-houses, in every part of the country, excepting in the Isles, and some of the Highland districts, are of a much better description than those of former times.

The rise of manufactures, and the improvement of agriculture, created employment for the lower classes; and as the farmers and manufacturers became more opulent, they could afford to pay higher wages to their labourers, who, in consequence, were able to procure better food and clothing; so that the condition of all classes of people, from the greatest landholders to the poorest peasants, is abundantly improved since the time of the rebellion; and the Scots would now be as unwilling to sever the tie that binds the two nations so closely together, as their ancestors were to consent that it should be formed.

After the suppression of the last rebellion, the government, being anxious to put an end, as far as possible, to all distinction between the Highland and Lowland Scots, made a law, prohibiting the former from wearing their national dress, or carrying arms. This, at first, was considered a great hardship; but, in time, the Highlanders became so reconciled to the new fashion, that when the prohibition was withdrawn, some years afterwards, very few resumed the picturesque costume that had graced their ancestors, finding the less elegant but more convenient and comfortable dress

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of the Lowlanders better suited to their present peaceful mode of life.

In many parts of the Highlands, the people are chiefly employed in feeding sheep and cattle for the London markets; but in the more northern districts, where the soil is very poor and barren, and the pasturage scanty, the general occupation is fishing.

A few years before the Union, the Scottish parliament passed an act for the establishment of schools in all the parishes throughout the kingdom; and the order was generally obeyed, except in the remote Highland districts. The masters are appointed by the landholders and clergy, and each is provided with a dwelling-house and school-room, and receives a small salary from the parish in addition to a trifling fee from every pupil. These schools were originally intended as preparatory seminaries for the universities, but they have now happily become more generally applicable to all classes and conditions of the people, all of whose children receive excellent useful education at them, free, or almost entirely free, of any expense. The schoolmasters have always formed a very respectable class of the community, and many of them have been distinguished as eminent scholars. There are also grammar schools in all the cities and burghs, besides numerous private academies. There are in the highlands a great number of parochial schools endowed by the government; and, in short, every exertion has been made to extend the benefits of education to the most remote parts of the country.

The four universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews, afford ample means for high attainments; and we all know, that some of the most eminent literary characters of modern times have been natives of Scotland.

Steam navigation, railway travelling, and other improvements of modern times, are making, as in England, a rapid progress, and the only difference of importance now subsist-

ing between the two countries, relates to affairs connected with the Scottish national religion. It is to be regretted that any circumstances should have arisen to disturb the harmony that had so long subsisted; but we have already seen in many instances, that the Scots are peculiarly averse to any interference on the part of the government with regard to their religion, and that when they agreed to the treaty of union, they did so expressly on condition that they should be allowed to maintain the Presbyterian forms of worship, and to rule their church in their own way.

The Scots are strongly attached to their national religion. They pay strict attention to the observance of the sabbath; and are extremely particular with regard to the choice of their ministers; so that it has been the custom not to appoint any individual to that office, not approved by the parishioners; and it was owing to a proposed departure from this custom, together with other acts on the part of government, which the Scots looked upon as encroachments on their religious liberties, that a powerful contest arose, the nature of which I shall endeavour to explain.

At the time of the Union, the ministers were chosen by the presbyteries and the heads of families in the several parishes, and no one could be a candidate who had not gone through a certain course of study at an university, and received from the professors a certificate of his fitness for the sacred office, both as regarded learning and moral conduct. Thus qualified, his claims were made known to the synod, and, if approved by that assembly, he was put upon his trials; that is, he was examined in various branches of knowledge, and obliged to deliver a certain number of discourses before the presbytery, after which, if it were decided that he was a fit person to have the charge of a parish, he received a license to preach, that the people might have the opportunity of judging whether they would approve of him for their minister. Then, if the congregation were satisfied,

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he was ordained, and appointed to the living, to which belonged a house, called the manse, with a glebe or piece of land attached to it, and a salary, paid out of the tithes of the parish.

The privilege of choosing their own ministers, was highly prized by the people of Scotland; so that when the Union took place in the time of Queen Anne, it was expressly stipulated that they should not be deprived of it, but that the church government should remain exactly as it then was; and this promise was one great means of reconciling the Scots to the union. But it was not long before an act was passed by the parliament for the restoration of patronage, by which certain persons were allowed the right of presenting ministers to vacant benefices in Scotland, a custom which, it appears, had formerly existed, but had been abolished at the Revolution, by William the Third. This innovation caused general dissatisfaction at the time, and was protested against by the General Assembly, both then and at all its subsequent meetings; but as the persons presented were subject to the examinations of the presbytery, and might be rejected on any reasonable ground, the opposition gradually subsided, and the annual protest of the General Assembly became a mere matter of form.

This state of things lasted till the year 1834, when an act was passed in the General Assembly, called the Veto act, by which the heads of families in any parish were empowered to reject a presentee if they did not consider him a proper person to be their minister; so that when a patron presented any one to a living, the parishioners were consulted as to whether they approved of him or not; and if a majority of the heads of families declared they would rather not accept him, the presbytery was directed not to take him upon trials. This new law was acted upon in several parishes, where presentees were refused on the ground that they were not acceptable to the majority of the parishioners.

but as this proceeding was contrary to the act of parliament that restored or bestowed the right of patronage in the time of Queen Anne, the rejected presentees and their patrons applied to the Court of Session for redress. Five of the thirteen judges voted against them, but eight were in their favour. The church courts, however, denied the right of a civil court to interfere, and an appeal was made to the House of Lords, where the question was taken into consideration, and, in 1839, it was decided that the Veto act passed by the General Assembly, was illegal, and that every presbytery was bound to take a presentee upon trial, and if he should be found duly qualified, to admit him to the ministry, without regard to the wishes of the parishioners.

The interference of the civil courts gave rise to a general feeling of dissatisfaction among the people of Scotland. Frequent disputes took place between the Court of Session and the presbyteries; and, at length, in November 1842, a meeting was held at Edinburgh, when about five hundred ministers assembled to consider of the best means for preserving the independence of the church. The decision of this assembly was, that if the government would grant no redress, it would be the duty of the ministers to give up their livings, and establish a church of their own. A very large proportion did so at once, on failing to obtain the redress they sought, and many more have since followed their example. The livings thus voluntarily abandoned, were immediately bestowed on ministers who do not object to the interference of the state in religious affairs; so that there are now two parties among the Scottish clergy or ministry, violently opposed to each other.

These Seceders, that is, those who have quitted the established church, are powerfully supported. Immense sums have been subscribed both in England and Scotland, for building new churches, supporting the ministers, and establishing schools on free-church principles. A great number

of churches were erected, and a regular government established for the free church, which holds its General Assembly separate from the General Assembly of the state church, and its presbyteries exercise the right of accepting or rejecting candidates for the ministry, upon their own authority alone. The same division has taken place among the Scottish people in India and America, from whence large contributions have been sent to Scotland, in aid of the free church, which has been gaining strength ever since.

This scism was the cause of great excitement throughout all Scotland; and we are the more gratified to record, that the good sense of the Scottish people has caused the issue of the contest to result in more extended establishments and means for the promotion of religion and education.

The church of Scotland is entirely different in its constitution from that of England. There is no distinction of rank among the clergy, or ministers, as they are more usually termed, for the word clergy is not used among the Presbyterians any more than among the Quakers, and every preacher is called a minister. There are no bishops, nor any other high dignitaries, but the government of the church is entrusted to certain persons, called elders, who may be either churchmen or laymen, and are chosen by the people of their respective parishes. There are three classes of elders. The first class consists of the professors of divinity in the universities; the second of the ministers; and the third of the ruling elders, who are not preachers, but whose duty it is to watch over the conduct of the parishioners, and likewise to see that the minister attends to his duty.

There are also certain courts for the regulation of all things concerning the church, which have always been quite separate from, and independent of, the civil courts of Scotland. These are the Presbyteries, the Synods, and the General Assembly. A Presbytery is composed of the ministers of several parishes, with a ruling elder from each parish. It is the business of this court to see that the min-

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isters preach according to the established principles of the Scottish church; that the people attend to their instructions; that proper masters are provided for the parish schools, and that the children are sent regularly to them. The presbytery has also the power of ejecting any minister who is negligent of his duty. The Synod is a provincial assembly formed by the meeting of delegates from several presbyteries, who elect a president, styled the Moderator, and consult together for the general interest of religion within their jurisdiction.

The General Assembly, which may be termed the Parliament of the Scottish church, is held at Edinburgh once a year, in the presence of a High Commissioner, who represents the sovereign. It is composed of ministers and ruling elders, sent by the presbyteries, the universities, and some of the town councils, as their representatives. This assembly makes and enforces all laws relating to the established religion of the country; but its power is limited by an act made in the reign of William the Third, called the Barrier Act, by which any new law proposed must be transmitted to the different presbyteries, and approved by a majority of them before it can pass; but the acts that are so approved and passed, become the permanent laws of the church of Scotland.

From the time of the events before related, to the present year, 1851, improvements have been going on in every part of Scotland; which, like England, is now traversed by railroads, and, accordingly, in every direction the intercourse with large towns has increased; and many remote and poor districts have been converted into busy scenes of resort and traffic. The sanitary regulations that have proved so beneficial in England, have also been introduced into Scotland with like good effect.

Measures were taken by the government Commissioners to ensure a plentiful supply of water to all the cities; to improve

the mode of drainage and ventilation in neighbourhoods inhabited by the poorer classes ; to establish baths and wash-houses for the use of those who, however much they may be disposed to cleanly habits, could not otherwise have the means of exercising them ; and further, it being one of the most important efforts to promote and secure health, the authorities put a restraint on all persons from suffering an accumulation of dirt and rubbish adjoining, or adjacent to their dwellings; as they had before suffered it to collect, to the great detriment of the health of the inhabitants. Under the general head of improvement, the cities and towns are also better paved and lighted than formerly.

Parochial boards were established in 1845, for a more perfect and salutary administration of the poor laws ; and it is gratifying to know that those boards have, on many occasions, been enabled to check the advance of distress arising from the short produce of the potato crops, or other causes, especially in the mountain districts and islands.

Most of the large towns have been considerably beautified within the last ten years, by the erection of many handsome public buildings, introducing a better style of architecture into the country. Among those deserving particular notice, three are at Edinburgh, namely, the new Corn Exchange, opened in 1849; the new Physician's Hall; and Donaldson's Hospital, founded by a printer of that name, who died in 1830, leaving £200,000 for the erection and endowment of an institution for the maintenance and education of three hundred poor children, of both sexes; none being admitted whose parents are able to support them.

General reference has already been made to the amount of education furnished to the poor children of Scotland. Very many districts and towns, having a meritorious share in such provisions, might claim particular mention; but the limits of these pages, and their historical, rather than their statistical character, are a restraint upon the desire to enu-

merate. Notwithstanding this restriction, however, there are some prominent examples of liberal contributions of this nature, too important to be passed wholly unnoticed: of these, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, may properly be the representatives.

The Scottish metropolis, Edinburgh, besides its many public seminaries for the dissemination of the higher matters of learning, and schools on Dr. Bell's system for the general poor, possesses an institution of extraordinary magnitude and moral power. A gift of George Heriot, a merchant in the reign of James the Fifth of Scotland, was the commencement of this school; the building, some years in hand, finished in 1660, cost £27,000. The founder purposed it mainly for the education of poor and indigent children, and this, his intention, is happily perpetuated and enlarged upon; for a recent act of parliament enabled the governors to extend the benevolent design, by the erection of ten branch schools, forming accommodation for three thousand more poor children.

Glasgow and Aberdeen, besides the presence of their Universities, and the usual amount of high class sources of education, have also abundant means for the humbler instruction of their poor inhabitants. They have their mechanics' institutes, cheap reading rooms, schools for poor and orphan children, and ragged schools. Glasgow, alone, can number, taking together day, evening, and Sunday schools, no less than 71,000 attendants, seeking and receiving instruction.

To record the ultimate effects of such multiplied moral agencies, history waits:—quietly but irresistably they move towards the production of the combination of circumstances that will make up society of an age to come. Discriminating education is a matter of the utmost importance, and of this fact, Scotland is not unmindful.

The city of Glasgow, also exhibits a vast extent of new

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and healthy open streets, and great architectural improvements; as do Perth and other towns of note, in the erection of buildings, by banking establishments, and other trading firms; as well as several beginnings for the erection of more comfortable and more healthy habitations for the working classes of society.

The Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, at Edinburgh, founded in 1826, was incorporated by royal charter in 1838; and nine years later, a royal association was formed for the promotion of the fine arts in Scotland; indeed, nothing seems wanting to promote the extension of taste in this direction, the Queen having become a liberal patroness of several Scottish societies tending to encourage the arts and sciences.

It is not an unimportant feature in the present history of Scotland, that it has become, once more, the abode of royalty, her Majesty having purchased Balmoral Castle and lands, situate in Strathdee, Aberdeenshire; making it her residence for a few weeks periodically:—the presence of the Queen and her court is a gratifying circumstance to the people; as few of our sovereigns, since the union of the two kingdoms, have made even an occasional visit to that part of their dominions.

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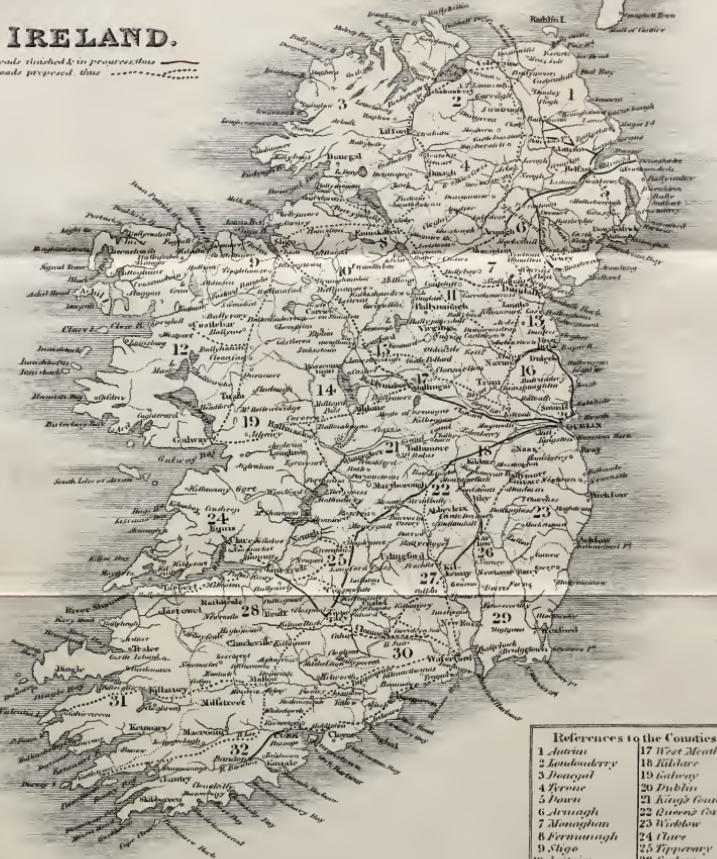
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Scale of 60 Miles



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- 30 Waterford
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HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EARLY HISTORY.

THIS beautiful and fertile country seems to have been, at some very remote period, the abode of a wealthy, learned, and polished nation; but, in the absence of authentic records, it is impossible to say by what race of people it was originally inhabited. It is most probable that, for some ages, its coasts were alone peopled by adventurers from foreign countries; and at the time of the Roman invasion of Britain, it is most likely that the possessors of the country, like those of Gaul and Britain, were Celts, one of those races which originally migrated from the neighbourhood of the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, since a dialect of the Celtic language is still universally spoken by the lower orders of Ireland, as it also is by those of Wales, Scotland, and part of the north of France.

That the Celts formed the main proportion of the Irish population, and have continued so to the present time, is as evident, from certain characteristics of language, &c., as that they still form the staple population of Wales and Scotland.

It is most probable that parts of Ireland were extensively colonized by a more polished people from the east, as we read of its early wealth, prosperity, and its cultivation of literature and the arts; and these eastern people were most probably the Phoenicians, the great traders and navigators of the east, whose country was situated on the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean sea.

The Phœnicians did not visit other countries for the purpose of plundering and destroying, but with the laudable intention of founding peaceable trading colonies on the coasts, and establishing a commercial intercourse between their own country and that in which they settled. The colonies formed by these enterprising and industrious people consisted of rich merchants, skilful manufacturers, clever artisans, and bold hardy mariners; and in the early days of the ancient Grecian states, they had towns and factories on the coast of Spain, and made voyages to the British isles, to some of which they gave the name of the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands.

It is probable that Ireland, at that time, was either quite uninhabited, or only peopled by a few savages, and that the Phœnicians, being pleased with its fertility and beauty, took possession of it, and in the course of time, filled it with people from their Spanish settlements, who carried with them all the arts that were known in their own country of Phœnicia; and thus the civilization of oriental nations was introduced into Ireland, although, in fact, the population derived its origin from Spain.

There are no ancient histories, or writings of any kind, which afford us this information; but there have been antiquities discovered at different times, in various parts of the country, that must have lain buried in the earth for many ages, and by their resemblance to things that were in use among the Phœnicians and other people of Asia, serve to prove that there must have been such people in Ireland at some very remote period. Weapons, and golden ornaments, of beautiful workmanship, have been dug up out of the ground or bogs; and it is said there are traces still remaining of ancient roads or causeways, and also of extensive coal works, and mines that have probably produced gold and silver, but must have been worked in ages long prior to the date of any historical account we have of this island.

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Of all the antiquities existing in Ireland, those which afford perhaps the strongest evidence of its early connexion with other parts of the world, are a number of curious stone buildings, called Round Towers. Many learned antiquaries have endeavoured to discover for what purpose these towers were built, and by whom they were erected. Some suppose them to have been built by the Norwegians or Danes during their invasions, and to have been used either as beacons or lighthouses, or as stations whence they might descry the approach of an enemy; but there never were any buildings like them discovered in other parts of Europe, although there are similar edifices both in Persia and India, which countries anciently exhibited a highly-civilized people, called "Fire worshippers." Some conjecture that they might have been constructed for the purpose of keeping burning on them what these people called the "Holy fire;" or else, if they were not used by the fire worshippers, they were certainly erected either for religious or astronomical purposes, by people who came from the east. Many persons, however, think that they were also used as sepulchres, from the circumstance of there having been lately skeletons found at the foundations of some of them.

We are told by Irish historians, that long before the beginning of the Christian era, the Milesians, a tribe of warriors, of Grecian origin, from the north of Spain, led by a prince called Milesius, made themselves masters of the whole country, and are the ancestors of a considerable portion of the present Irish people, who in their habits, laws, and institutions, appear to have closely resembled the ancient Britons. They were divided into many tribes, each governed by a chieftain; but the laws were made by the Druids; whence it may be inferred that the Milesians neither destroyed nor interfered with the authority of the priesthood, as it existed at the time of their arrival. However this might be, their religious rites were extremely

cruel; and among other horrid customs, was that of sacrificing what they called “First Fruits,” to their idols; by which was meant, not only the earliest corn, fruit, and other produce of the earth that ripened, but the first of all animals, and, dreadful to relate, the first child of every family. It is said to have been the custom for parents to carry their first-born babe to be burnt as an offering to the fire, or to whatever else they worshipped; and that, in so doing, they believed they were performing an act of piety that would bring a blessing upon them and their posterity.

The Romans, who put an end to the authority of the Druids in Britain, never made any settlement in Ireland, though they were acquainted with its geographical position, and gave it the name of Hibernia. Thus, though they were such close neighbours during a space of nearly four hundred years, yet the people of Ireland remained unmolested by them, and continued to practise their idolatrous worship, and to live according to the customs introduced by their ancestors.

A long time after the establishment of the Milesians in Ireland, it happened that another tribe, the Scotti, a race of Scythians, visited its shores, thinking they should be allowed to settle upon them; but those who were in possession of the land were not willing to divide it with any new comers; wherefore they persuaded them to go farther towards the north, telling them they would find in that quarter a fine country but little inhabited, and where they might establish themselves without difficulty. The adventurers listened to this advice, and having chosen wives from among the Irish people, they took their departure, and went to the west of Scotland, where they built habitations, and founded the kingdom of the Scots. In the early ages, historians, in alluding to the Scots, or Scotti, meant the people of Ireland, from whom, however, Scotland took its name.

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Ireland had many names among the ancient nations; but that which is most familiar to us, and still continues in use as a poetical name for the island, is Erin, which signifies the West Country; and this was the appellation by which the bards were wont to celebrate its fame in their songs. Erin is most probably a corruption of Ierne, the ancient name of Ireland among the Greeks and Romans.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND LAWS,

OF

THE ANCIENT IRISH.

WHILE the Romans were civilizing and improving Britain, Ireland remained in the same rude state in which it had been since the first settlements of the Milesians. The country was divided into five provinces, Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Meath. The latter was the chief seat of government, where the supreme sovereign of the whole island resided; but each of the other provinces had a king, who was inferior to the king of Meath, and paid him tribute. Besides these five kings, there were numerous princes, or chiefs, who called themselves kings also, and ruled their own septs or clans with absolute authority, like the Highland chieftains of Scotland; but they were all tributary to the kings of their respective provinces, though they held themselves independent in all other respects; and payment of the tribute was often obtained only by force.

The kings of the five provinces were almost always at war with each other, and their quarrels generally arose from the non-payment of tribute. The petty chiefs were expected to assist their kings in these wars; but this was a duty very

often neglected, for they were not like feudal vassals, who held their lands for military service, but only gave their aid when it suited them so to do, and when they thought they should get part of the plunder for themselves.

In the province of Meath is supposed to have stood the Hall of Tara, celebrated as being the palace of the ancient Irish kings; and I believe there is no doubt that on the hill of Tara, the national assemblies met once a year, to consult on the affairs of the kingdom, and to make laws. The lawgivers were a class of Druids called Brehons, who acted as magistrates and judges. They did not hold their courts of justice in any hall, but seated themselves on the top of a hill, in the open air, where they heard all complaints that were brought before them, and decided every cause according to their own ideas of right and wrong. The hill of Tara is also famous in Irish history as the spot on which the kings were crowned. The throne, or seat of inauguration, was a black stone, which was called Lea Fail, or the fatal stone, said to have been brought in the early ages from Spain; and it was therefore held in high veneration. It was either borrowed by Feargus the Great, an Irish chief, who had conquered Scotland, on which to be crowned; or else it was carried away, among other spoils, by the Scots, in one of their invasions of Ireland, and was ever afterwards used as the coronation seat of the kings of Scotland, at the abbey of Scone, until it was conveyed away by force of arms, together with the crown and sceptre, by Edward the First, to England, who placed it in Westminster-abbey, where it still exists, and forms the basis of the coronation chair to this day.

The Brehon laws related chiefly to the inheritance of lands; which was regulated in a manner that caused frequent quarrelling and bloodshed among these barbarians, whose great object was to obtain power over others; and as their power depended on the extent of their territory, every chief

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was desirous of getting as large a portion of land as he could. It seems just, that, at the death of a father, his property should be divided among his children; but the Brehons thought otherwise, for when the chief of a family died, all his male relatives were called together, sons, brothers, uncles, nephews, and cousins, and the lands of the deceased were shared among them, according to their ages, and their different degrees of relationship. The peace of families was often disturbed in consequence of this law; for when a chief grew old, his relations used to quarrel and fight till some of the party were slain, on purpose to lessen the number of claimants to a share of his land.

Another frequent cause of dispute was, the election of a new tanist, or heir; for the law said, that he should be chosen from among the oldest and most worthy of the family of the deceased chief. This was a point on which they seldom agreed, as there were usually several whose age entitled them to the distinction; and as every one of these was sure to think himself the most worthy, it not unfrequently happened that those who were rejected drew their swords against him who was chosen; for murder among savage nations is seldom held in that abhorrence which it deserves, and but too frequently escapes its just punishment.

The dwelling of a chief was usually built on an elevated spot of ground, surrounded by a rampart of earth, which served as a fortification. The house itself was merely a large wicker hut, erected of branches of trees stuck into the ground, with the smaller branches woven amongst them, in the manner of wattles: it was covered with straw or rushes, and sods, to keep out the rain, and plastered on the outside with clay or loam; and in such a dwelling, the chief resided with his family, and exercised a sovereign control over the poor people on his land, who were called his tenants. They clothed themselves in sheep skins, and subsisted by feeding flocks and herds, and growing oats

Those of higher rank, however, were more gay in their attire, for they wore parti-coloured mantles and trowsers, and adorned the handles of their swords with the teeth of fishes polished as brightly as ivory. It is probable that they knew how to make and dye their own cloth; for they had plenty of sheep to furnish them with wool, and one of the first steps towards the arts among barbarous nations is, generally, the manufacture of some article for their own personal use and decoration. War chariots were in use among the ancient Irish, and small boats of wicker work, covered with leather, called Corroghs, similar to those of the ancient Britons, and common at that time to all northern nations.

The ancient Irish, it is believed, took their principal meal in the evening; and their method of cooking was very peculiar. They made a fire, on which they heated large stones, until they became red hot; then having previously dug a pit, they threw into it a layer of stone, then a layer of meat, and on that more hot stones, after which, they covered the pit with sedges or rushes, and left the meat to bake; and when sufficiently done, they took it out, and ate it with black bread. Their beds, for females and children, were made by first placing on the ground small branches of trees, upon which was strewed a quantity of moss, and over all were laid rushes, upon which they slept, covered with their mantles. The robust males usually lay on the ground, wrapped in their thick woollen mantles.

The harbours of Ireland appear to have been visited in those times by foreign merchants, but the nature of the trade they carried on is not exactly known. All we are told is, that the Irish had no money, and that they made most of their payments in cattle; but they probably used gold and silver also in their dealings with foreigners, as there is very little doubt that these metals were formerly found in considerable quantities in Ireland.

Among themselves, however, cattle was the substitute for money, and was used in paying rents, tributes, and debts of all kinds. Sometimes, however, the lesser kings and chiefs were very backward in paying their dues to the greater ones, in which case, the latter adopted a mode of collecting them very similar to a custom that prevailed in England at a much later period. The sovereign, claiming the tribute, used to go with a numerous band of followers to the dwelling of him who owed it, and feast his whole retinue at the expense of his debtor, till he was satisfied that an amount equivalent to the debt was consumed. Such visitors were not always very peaceably received; and they were then driven to the alternative of seizing on all that was within their reach, and carrying it away, which generally occasioned a war; but still they were often allowed to regale themselves till the debt was paid.

The Irish bards had been celebrated, from the most remote ages, for their skill in playing on the harp; and as they were held in great estimation, they had lands assigned them for their maintenance.

Another order of men consisted of the keepers of houses of hospitality, which were a kind of rude inns for the accommodation of strangers who visited the island, where they were entertained free of expense. These houses were endowed with lands, the produce of which furnished the means of entertainment; and the office of keeper was hereditary, as were also the offices of all whose employments were professional, as the bard's, the physicians, or the historians, the son succeeding always to his father's occupation.

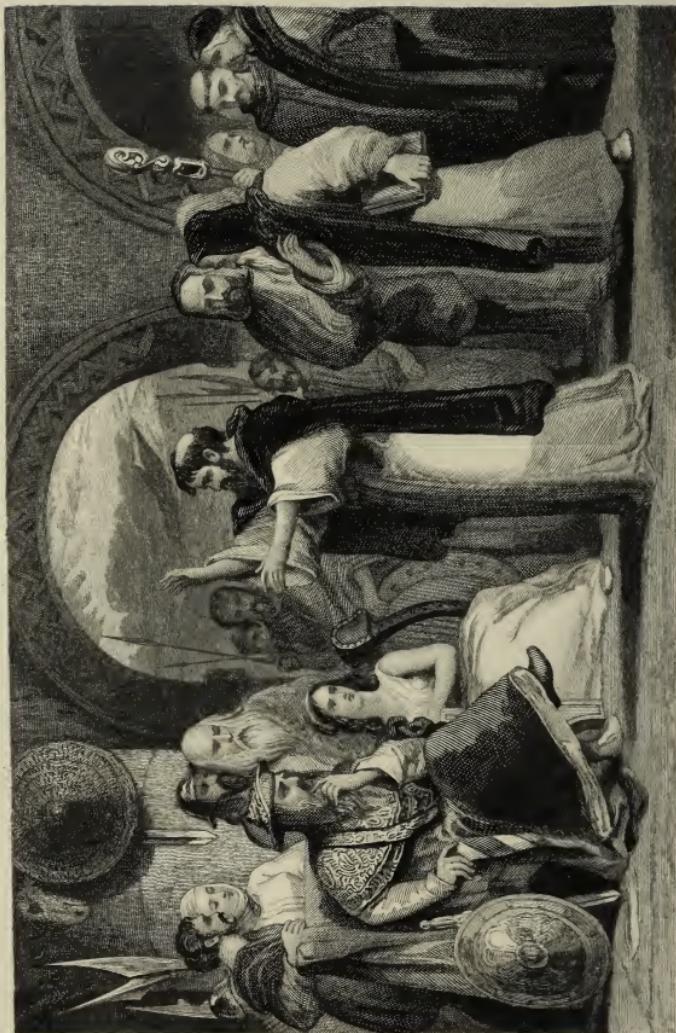
INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE Druids continued to be the priests and lawgivers of

Ireland, and the people to practise their idolatrous worship, with all the horrid rites attending it, till towards the middle of the fifth century; when, just as the Saxons were abolishing the Christian religion in Britain, where it had been introduced by the Romans, and re-establishing paganism in that country, a more happy change was taking place among the inhabitants of Erin, who were being converted from pagans to Christians. There seldom was so remarkable a change in the religion of a country as this, for it was effected without bloodshed, almost without opposition, and in a very short time, chiefly by a single individual, who is venerated by the Irish under the name of St. Patrick, and of whom is told the following remarkable history.

It was about the time when the Romans were leaving Britain, that an Irish king, named Nial, or Mac Nial, invaded the coast of Brittany, in France, and carried off a number of captives to Ireland, amongst whom was a youth, about sixteen years of age, who was sold, with the other prisoners, as a slave, and was employed by his master to tend sheep. His name was Patrick. Being of a religious turn of mind, the young Patrick used to wander through the forests and over the mountains with his flocks, meditating on the idolatrous worship of the people amongst whom he was brought, pitying their errors, and thinking that it would be both good and glorious to teach them a better faith, and convince them that it was cruel to sacrifice their children, and foolish to believe that stone images could have the power of doing them good.

For six years, young Patrick remained a slave in Ireland, his thoughts being engaged on this subject, when, at last, he escaped from bondage, and returned to France; but he could not forget the land he had left; and having devoted himself to the study of religion and learning, till he was forty-five years of age, he applied to the Pope for leave to re-visit Ireland, for the purpose of preaching Christianity



ST. PATRICK PREACHING CHRISTIANITY TO THE KING & NOBLES AT TARA.

among the natives. The Pope very readily granted his request, and having received this permission, Patrick returned to Ireland about the year 432, and landed in Ulster with a few companions, missionaries, appointed to assist him in the work he had undertaken. Some herdsmen, who chanced to be driving their cattle near the spot on which the missionaries landed, were so terrified at their singular appearance, that they ran in haste to their chief, and told him that pirates had landed on his territory. On hearing which, he assembled his people, and went out to attack the invaders; but when he saw the little party approaching, he was so struck with the mild and dignified countenance of Patrick, that he invited him with his brethren to his house, where St. Patrick's eloquent discourse, in their own language, made converts of the chief and his whole family.

The work being thus happily begun, the good saint proceeded to Tara, where he preached before the king and many chiefs, who, it is said, listened with attention and delight to such new and pleasing doctrines. In short, to whatever place St. Patrick proceeded, the people flocked to hear him; and, in a short space of time, the worshipping of fire ceased, human sacrifices were abolished, and the Christian religion was established throughout the country. St. Patrick founded a great number of churches, appointed bishops and priests, and fixed the metropolitan see of Ireland; that is, he ordained that the archbishop of Armagh should always be the head of the Irish church; and he was himself the first prelate of that see.

It is rather singular that the Druids do not seem to have offered much opposition to these innovations on their authority and doctrines; for although we are told they once or twice attempted to take away the life of the saint, we never hear of their having made any resolute stand in defence of the ancient religion, nor are we told what became of them. It is stated, however, that St. Patrick caused all their

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records, and writings of every description, to be destroyed, that there might remain no vestige of Paganism.

On the introduction of Christianity, monasteries were founded in different parts of the island. An astonishing number of these establishments appeared in a short time, which were soon filled with religious devotees; and there were no monks of that particular period more celebrated for their learning and sanctity, than those of Ireland. St. Patrick was himself a great scholar, and from the works ascribed to him, has been gathered what little is known of the Irish people at this time. He states that they had water-mills for grinding corn, and speaks of chariots as being used for purposes of war. He also describes their dress as being composed chiefly of woollen stuff, dyed of various colours, and says that the rank of all persons was distinguished by the number of colours they were allowed to wear. Thus kings and queens might have seven colours in their dresses; bards, six; nobles, five; governors, four; sons of nobles, three; common soldiers, two; and the herdsmen, shepherds, and labourers, only one; that being, in fact, the natural colour of the fleece, or of the cloth made from its wool.

Among the monasteries founded by St. Patrick, was one, the ruins of which are still to be seen, in a beautiful little island, named Inniscattery, at the mouth of the Shannon, the superior of which was the renowned saint, Senanus, who, according to a popular tradition, made a vow that no woman's foot should ever touch his sacred isle.

For three hundred years after the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, there is little to be told of that country, but what relates to the progress of religion, and the wars of the chiefs. The five kings, and such of the nobles as were able to do so, founded monasteries; and the monks we are told cultivated medicinal herbs and plants in their gardens,

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as well as roots and herbs for their own sustenance, and that their orchards were well stocked with fruit trees.

About the middle of the sixth century, St. Columba, a native of Ireland, introduced the Christian religion into Scotland, and founded a very celebrated monastery in the little island of Iona, off the western coast of that country; and another saint, named Kevin, built an abbey at Glendalough, a few miles from Dublin, where he died at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years; and this abbey was held in such veneration, that, on the third day of June, every year, crowds of pilgrims flocked to Glendalough, to offer up their prayers and gifts at the shrine of St. Kevin. It is still a place of pilgrimage, and although so near the capital, is a wild and desert spot.

Music, as I have before observed, had flourished in Ireland from remote antiquity, as the Scottish and Welsh music may be traced to the melodies of the old Irish bards; and the church music was so famed, that the daughter of King Pepin, of France, sent to Ireland for teachers to instruct the nuns of Nivelle in psalmody. The Irish, it is said, had two kinds of harps; one bold and quick, the other soft and pleasing. Yet, notwithstanding all that has been said of the antiquity of Irish music, it is certain that all the really good airs with which we are so greatly delighted, are modern, and most of them of the last century.

INVASION OF THE DANES.

It was about the year 717, that the Northmen, or Danes, (who suffered no maritime country within their reach to remain free from their ravages,) began to make their unwelcome visits to the shores of Ireland.

At this period, a great similarity existed between the

political state of Ireland and that of England, which was then under the dominion of the Saxons, and divided into the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Each country contained several separate states, governed by their respective monarchs, one of whom was superior to the rest; and in every one of these states were a number of petty princes, who ruled over their own domains, but were tributary to the king of that division of the country in which they resided. War and religion were the chief occupations of the free, while the cultivation of the soil and the tending of sheep and cattle, were generally the employments of slaves. In point of civilisation, however, the Irish in general were far inferior to the Saxons of England; nor did they possess the means of living in an equal degree of ease and plenty. But there can be no doubt that the Irish ecclesiastics excelled the English in learning; for it was customary for the English people of high rank to send their sons into Ireland to be educated, and the great St. Aldhelm, and other renowned churchmen of England in the Saxon times, were brought up under the tuition of Irishmen.

At the time of the invasion of the Danes, there were so many kings in Ireland, that we are told of two hundred being killed in one battle; but we must here consider that the term king was applied to every petty chief possessed of a small territory, and a few half-clothed followers; yet every one of these was as proud and independent as if he had been the sovereign of a vast realm. We may therefore limit the number of the Irish kings to five; namely, the king of Meath, who was the supreme monarch of Ireland, and the tributary princes of the four provinces, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

The royal domain of Meath, although the smallest of the five divisions, had been long set apart as the seat of the supreme government, on account of its position in the centre of the country; but its extent was gradually increased by

tracts of land which were taken in from each of the other provinces, till at length it became a large district also; and the object of all the most ambitious rulers of the inferior states was to obtain the sovereignty of Meath; so that the king was usually engaged in defending his right with his sword.

It was this constant warfare among the Irish chieftains that rendered them such an easy prey to any foreign invader; for they could never agree to unite together for the protection and defence of their country. A people so divided were not likely to prosper; and it was to the perpetual discord among their native princes that the misfortunes of the Irish were in a great measure to be attributed.

The Danes had made several piratical inroads into the country, and carried off whatever they could find that was valuable to them; but they do not seem to have formed any design of conquering the island or settling in it, till about the year 795, when they began to appear in more formidable numbers than before, and to fight regular battles with the natives. On one occasion, as many as one hundred and twenty ships arrived at one time. These bold pirates sailed up the river Boyne, or steered their course along the Liffey; landing, and pouring in swarms over the whole country. The monks and nuns fled in terror to conceal themselves in the woods; for wherever these fierce invaders landed, their first act was to set fire to the churches and convents; as they were professed enemies to Christianity, and in their wars treated all Christians with the utmost barbarity. We need not wonder, therefore, that the monasteries were deserted as soon as they appeared; but sometimes they came so suddenly, that many of the unfortunate inmates of these dwellings had not time to escape, and were unmercifully put to death. The superiors, however, were usually spared, and were reserved for the sake of ransom.

The natives of Ireland had many fierce combats with the

Danes, and often defeated them; so that many years elapsed before the latter were able to make any permanent settlement in the country; and it is very likely they never would have accomplished their purpose, if the whole nation had united to oppose them; but instead of doing so, the Irish chiefs frequently leagued with them for the purpose of assistance in their wars against each other. If, for instance, a party of Danes had landed in Munster when the king of that country was at war with the king of Connaught, the former would immediately enter into an alliance with the Danish chief; to whose forces he would join his own, and invade the territory of Connaught; the foolish prince forgetting, in his eagerness to avenge his private quarrel, that he was helping his own enemies to subdue his native land.

The Irish were accustomed, on any sudden invasion, to give notice of it to the country around, by lighting up a fire on the highest hill, so that it could be seen for miles in every direction. Those who saw it, did the same, and in that way the intelligence was quickly spread through the country.

As the Danes became more acquainted with the interior of the island, and saw how beautiful and fertile it was, compared with their own country, they were still more desirous of possessing themselves of it, and about the year 815, succeeded in making a settlement in Armagh. About thirty years later, a Norwegian chief, named Turgesius, arrived with a powerful fleet, and after a violent contest, subdued a great part of the country, built towns and fortresses all round the coast, and finally assumed the title of King of Ireland. Whenever you read of the Danes of this period, you must remember that they were not merely the people of Denmark, but of Norway, Sweden, and, in fact, of all that northern part of Europe which in ancient times was called Scandinavia.

As soon as Turgesius had invested himself with the sove-

reignty of Ireland, he began to conduct himself in the most tyrannical manner. He not only obliged the Irish kings to pay him a large tribute, but imposed a tax upon all the natives, which was called nose money, because those who neglected to pay it, or perhaps had not the means of doing so, had their noses cut off.

Turgesius was at length killed by a stratagem of one of the Irish kings, named O'Melachlin, and a general massacre of the Danes soon followed, which gave a temporary check to their power; but not long afterwards, three princes of Norway, Olaf, Sitric, and Ivar, came with fresh hordes of Danes into Ireland, and took possession of the three principal towns, which were Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, and soon converted them into great trading cities. To these cities, then inhabited by Danes, came foreign merchants with corn, wine, articles of clothing, household utensils, and English slaves, brought chiefly from the slave market at Bristol; for the Danish families of rank were all served by slaves, and preferred those of England to any others.

Meanwhile, the natives were confined to the central parts of the country, and were in a very miserable condition. Perpetually at war with the Danes, their lands were laid waste, their flocks and herds destroyed, and many were reduced to such misery, that they were driven by hunger to sell their children that they might obtain food. In the course of time, however, as the original conquerors died, and other generations succeeded, the two nations grew more friendly with each other. The Irish Danes gradually had adopted the Christian religion. Many marriages, too, had taken place between the natives and the strangers, so that the latter ceased to be regarded as the enemies of the country.

During all this period, there were kings of the several provinces, who, notwithstanding the unhappy state of the country, had never ceased to fight with each other for su-

periority. By degrees, they had recovered much of their power and territory; but you must understand that the people of the Danish towns were always governed by kings of their own nation.

Owing to the commerce which was carried on by the Danes with foreign countries, the Irish were supplied with splendid decorations for their churches, and rich dresses for their priests. The bishops of Ireland sometimes became kings; and there was a bishop of Cashel, named Cormac, who was king of Munster in the beginning of the tenth century; and who left a will bequeathing to different churches chalices of gold and silver, and silken vestments for the priests, which were probably brought into Ireland by merchants from Italy. The will of Cormac proves that, although the Irish were in general very poor, some of them must have possessed considerable wealth, or they could not have been able to purchase such costly things as these; and we are told besides, that they sometimes paid large sums in gold to ransom prisoners of high rank. Gold was most of it probably obtained by commercial interchange, but some from their own mines or stream-works, which might have been worked at this early period, as we know they were in later times.

Considerable masses of native gold were found at different places in the county of Wicklow, about fifty years ago; but the silver mines of Ireland appear to have been the most important. There was a mine of this metal in the county of Antrim, from which much silver was obtained; and others in Sligo and Tipperary. The works were ruined during the insurrection in the reign of Charles the First. The washings of the rivers in Wicklow still produce small quantities of gold, but not sufficient to pay the expenses; and a guard has been placed there, to prevent the country people from raking up and spoiling the face of the country in searching for it.

BRIEN THE BRAVE, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

989 to 1100

THE Danes had been settled in Ireland about two hundred years, when their power, which had been maintained to a considerable extent, received a final overthrow, in consequence of the heroic deeds of a great warrior, named Brien Boru, who is celebrated in Irish song by the title of Brien the Brave. He was king of Munster only in the early part his career, though he afterwards became supreme monarch of Ireland. The kings of Munster at this period, although they were considered inferior to those of Meath, and were expected to pay them tribute, were scarcely inferior to them in point of real power, and often resisted with success the payment of the tribute.

When Brien was king of Munster, the throne of Meath was occupied by Malachi, a warlike king, who had gained several great victories over the Danes, particularly at the battle of Tara, where they were totally defeated with great loss, and obliged to make peace on the conqueror's own terms, and to release all the natives who were held in bondage by them. You will see by this, that although the Danes were no longer considered in the light of invaders, they were not suffered to remain at peace, but were often at war with the native princes, in the same way that the princes were at war with each other.

In consequence of the treaty between Malachi and the Danes, above two thousand captives were released from slavery; for it was the custom in Ireland, as in other countries, to make slaves of all prisoners taken during war. Most of the great Danish chiefs were killed at the battle of

Tara; and, among others, Prince Reginald, the son of Olaf, king of Dublin. The loss of this brave youth so afflicted his father, that he went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Columba, in the isle of Iona, where he died of grief. Malachi, therefore, was esteemed a great hero; but Brien the Brave was still more renowned; and the Irish, to this day, tell of his exploits with pride and exultation.

While Brien was king of Munster alone, he had made himself so terrible to his foes, that the Danes of Dublin were glad to purchase peace, by paying him an annual tribute of an ounce of gold from every house in the city, which was presented on Christmas night; and he had also enlarged his territory, and increased his wealth, by many conquests over the native princes. But his ambition was not yet satisfied: he aspired to the throne of Ireland, and, undaunted by the fame of Malachi, went to war with that valiant monarch. Malachi, after a hard struggle, was obliged to give up the contest, and do homage to the conqueror in the halls of Tara, which had been the palace of his ancestors for more than five hundred years.

As soon as Brien had attained the object of his wishes, he made a tour through the whole country, to receive the submission of the chiefs, and make them give hostages for their future fealty; for he knew that few of them would like to see the throne of Ireland occupied by any but a descendant of their ancient sovereigns, who had ruled over the land for so many ages. Several of these chiefs even declared their readiness to take up arms in the cause of their deposed monarch; but Malachi was generous enough to entreat that they would submit to the usurper, rather than add to the troubles of the country, by plunging it into a civil war for his sake. This remonstrance had the desired effect: the people acknowledged the sovereignty of the new monarch; while Malachi retained the title of king of Meath, and paid tribute like the petty princes.

Brien Boru was, in all respects except his usurpation, a very good king, and the country during his reign was kept in better order than it had ever been before. The chief reason of this was, that he would be obeyed; and although he was no tyrant, none dared to dispute his commands. The lesser kings were all held in complete subjection to this powerful monarch; and as he positively forbade them to go to war with each other, there was peace throughout the country. He also made laws to protect the people from the oppression of the chiefs, who were sometimes very tyrannical in their own dominions; and if they acted contrary to his laws, they were imprisoned in the royal fortress at Kin Kora, in Munster, which was his favourite residence.

Brien repaired all the fortresses that had been destroyed in the Danish wars; and although the Danes were still in possession of the sea-port towns, they occupied themselves entirely in commercial pursuits, and never once attempted to disturb the peace of the country for many years. Brien was a very liberal benefactor to the church; he made many magnificent donations of lands and money, and greatly extended the privileges of the clergy. He also founded several monasteries, and restored to their former condition the schools and colleges that had been ruined by the Danes.

There is no doubt that Brien was a very great and a very brave prince; but his wonderful exploits and good deeds, like those of all the favourite heroes of old, were much exaggerated by the bards of his time, whose songs being preserved to after ages, were listened to as truth by the people; so that many marvellous tales are told of the happy and prosperous state of Ireland, while under the government of Brien Boru. One of these relates that a lady travelled alone through the island, adorned with jewels, and bearing in her hand a white wand with a golden ring at the top of it, and that this fine lady performed her journey without being robbed by the way, so well were the laws of the king

observed. There is a similar tale told of the time of Alfred the Great, and of Robert, the first duke of Normandy, both of whom are said to have kept their subjects in such excellent order, that golden bracelets were hung up by the way side, and remained there untouched for three years; but all such stories are without the least foundation, and are only meant to impress on our minds that there was less robbery in the time of those good princes, because they took pains to improve the condition and morals of the people.

Twenty years had passed tranquilly away, and Brien and Malachi were both grown old; when the people of Leinster, to their shame be it spoken, made an alliance with the Danes against their own countrymen; and joining their forces with those of Sitric, the Danish king of Dublin, invaded the province of Meath, for no other purpose it would seem but that of plundering it; which proves that their good conduct was but temporary, and that they were relapsing into their former bad habits.

Malachi, being aged and infirm, applied for aid to his old enemy, Brien, who at first refused to grant it to him. But about the same time, a fresh invasion of the Northmen, who landed in Munster, threatened the safety of the whole island; and all the chiefs and princes, with Brien at their head, united together to repel the intruders, who were marching with all speed towards Dublin to join their countrymen of that city. This new army of Danes had brought with them their wives and families, and came for the express purpose of subduing the Irish, and occupying the whole country.

The people of Leinster, who were still in alliance with the Danes of Dublin, allowed the invaders to pass through their province, and were ready to assist them in battle against Brien and the rest of the chiefs. In order to weaken the power of these allies, and punish the rebel king of Leinster,

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Brien sent his son Donough into that territory with a select body of troops, to lay waste the land, and destroy the cattle, so that the enemy might be distressed for want of provisions; but he charged the young prince not to be absent more than three days, as he did not think it prudent to risk a battle with the Danes until the return of the soldiers whom Donough purposed to take with him.

No sooner, however, had Donough departed on this expedition, than some traitor in Brien's camp went over to the Danes, and told them that now was the fittest time to attack the Irish army, as all the best troops were away. The Danes hastened to profit by this favourable opportunity, and prepared to give battle the next day, when the advantage was greatly on their side, for their numbers had been strengthened by parties of Britons from Wales, headed by their respective princes, and by Lodar, the Danish earl of the Orkney Islands; for the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, were all at this time in the possession of the Danes and Norwegians.

On the morning of the battle that was to decide the fate of the country, the venerable monarch, then ninety years of age, rode along the ranks, and addressed his soldiers in a bold and spirited harangue. He reminded them of the wrongs the Irish had formerly sustained from the Danes; that they had desolated the country, murdered the priests, despoiled the churches, and violated the shrines of the saints; and in concluding his address, he held up a crucifix in one hand, and waving his sword over his head with the other, gave the signal for the onset.

The battle lasted from sunrise till the dusk of the evening. After some hours, Brien was obliged, from fatigue, to retire to his tent, from which he sent his orders to the chiefs, many of whom fell on that dreadful day; but, at length, the Danes began to give way, and cries of victory resounded

from the Irish; while the vanquished were seen flying from the field in all directions.

The shades of evening were falling, and the noise of the battle had ceased, when an old man was seen kneeling in prayer within his tent, attended only by a single page:—It was Brien the Brave. He had heard the victorious shouts of his army, and commanded his own body guard to join in pursuit of the Danes; so that he was left alone, and was offering up his thanks to heaven for this almost un hoped-for success. While he was thus piously engaged, one of the Danish chieftains, who had escaped from the field of battle, and taken shelter in a little wood, saw from his retreat that the king's tent was left unguarded. Instantly making a sign to the few soldiers who were with him, they rushed forward, and killed the aged warrior, while he was yet in the attitude of prayer. Thus fell Brien the Brave, at the famous battle of Clontarf, fought on the twenty-third of April, 1014.

It is a remarkable coincidence, that this great defeat of the Danes in Ireland took place in the same year that they were victorious in England, where Canute, their chief, was proclaimed king. In Ireland, however, they never recovered their power, and as no fresh reinforcements arrived, they mingled more and more with the native Irish, till at length they ceased to be considered as a distinct people.

After the death of Brien, Malachi was restored to the throne, which he occupied till the year 1022, and is reckoned the forty-second Christian king of Ireland. The death of Malachi was the commencement of a series of civil wars and national calamities, arising from disputes between his relatives and those of Brien Boru, about their respective rights to the throne. A number of candidates came forward, and were successively driven out of the field, till the contest at last remained to be decided between Donchad,

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the king of Munster, who was the son of Brien the Brave, and Turlough, a great chief, who was Donchad's nephew.

Donchad was married to a daughter of the great Saxon, Earl Godwin, father of Harold the Second, king of England, consequently, he was Harold's brother-in-law. You may remember that the earl and his son rebelled against Edward the Confessor; and that the former escaped into Flanders. Harold, also, was obliged to leave England, and went over to Ireland, where he was kindly received by Donchad, who lent him nine ships for his return. The war between Donchad and Turlough for the supremacy of Ireland, was at length decided in favour of the latter; on which Donchad gave up the crown of Munster, and set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he finished his days in a monastery; partly in consequence of his disappointed ambition, and partly from repentance for his sins.

Turlough was king of Ireland during the reigns of our William the Conqueror and William Rufus. He was a powerful prince, and kept his court at the palace of Kin Kora, in the county of Clare; but he was a tyrant, and imposed very heavy tributes on the other princes; who were, in their turn, obliged to raise supplies among their own people, in order to be able to make those payments. The tribute consisted of cattle, gold, and party-coloured mantles.

We have seen how Brien the Brave kept the Danes in subjection for many years, without interfering with their established customs. He allowed them to carry on trade, and to be governed by their own princes, and only restrained them from making war on the natives; but Turlough, not being content with this limited share of authority, deposed and banished Godfred, the king of Dublin, and gave the government of that city to his own son Murkertach; and very soon afterwards, he placed Irish princes over all the Danish towns.

It is said that the forests of Ireland were so extensive at

this period, and produced such fine timber, that William Rufus sent to King Turlough for a quantity of oak to make the roof of Westminster-hall.

Turlough died in the year 1086. The kingdom of Munster was divided between his three sons, one of whom died; when Murkertach, who had been made king of Dublin by his father, defeated and banished his brother Dermot, and thus gained possession of the whole kingdom of Munster. But the principal chiefs of Ireland, wishing to see the ancient line of sovereigns restored, opposed the claims of Murkertach to the supreme throne, and declared in favour of Donald Mac Loughlin, a chief of the ancient royal race. This war had continued for eight years, when it was terminated by an agreement that the country should be divided between the rival princes. The southern half therefore remained under the dominion of Murkertach; while the northern division was given to Mac Loughlin; and these two kings enjoyed an equal share of power and independence. But the love of warfare seems to have been so great, that even this compact failed to restore tranquillity; for these two monarchs were constantly armed against each other, till, in the year 1103, Murkertach suffered a total defeat, and retired into a monastery to end his life in peace.

While these wars were going on, the coasts of Ireland were several times invaded by different Norwegian chiefs, and one of their great kings, Magnus, who was also Lord of the Isles, that is, of the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, had made himself master of Dublin; when he was enticed into an ambuscade, and killed by a sudden attack of the Irish.

The palace of Kin Kora was destroyed at this time; so that nothing of it is now to be seen but the ramparts and moat. It was probably little superior to those buildings that were called castles in Ireland, which were far inferior to the Saxon castles in England, as they consisted only of a tower with narrow loop holes for windows, and a hall

adjoining, built of wattles and plastered with clay, and thatched; to which was added a large yard called a bawn, with a hedge and a ditch round it to preserve the cattle from invaders.

Some years before the death of Murkertach, a national assembly was held, to regulate the affairs of the church. The clergy, at this period, possessed extensive lands, which, by a decree of this assembly, they were henceforth to hold free of all tributes or public contributions of any kind; so that the churchmen of Ireland became richer than the kings and chiefs; for they were not obliged to keep all this land for their own use, but might let a part of it to farmers; and they generally received their rents in gold and silver, instead of taking them in kind, as was usual among landlords who were not ecclesiastics. It was also very usual to make rich donations to new churches, at their consecration. On one occasion, Murha O'Loughlin, the king of Ireland, in 1157, gave a town, one hundred and fifty cows, and sixty ounces of gold, to the bishop of the district; and the wife of another king was equally liberal.

Murkertach bestowed the extensive domain of Cashel on the church, and made it an archbishopric; so that there were two archbishops in Ireland, as in England, and twenty-four bishops. The churches and monasteries of Ireland were, at this time, all built of wood, for stone buildings were so uncommon, even as late as the twelfth century, that when Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, constructed a stone tower, or palace, as he styled it, the natives called it the Wonderful Tower.

At this time, there must have been a considerable trade carried on between England and Ireland; and it is probable that scarlet cloth was much in request among the kings and chieftains of Ireland, being perhaps partly used for their robes; for in the time of Henry the First, there was a daring pirate of the Orkney islands, named Sweyn, who captured two merchant vessels that were sailing for Dublin, laden

with English cloths and other valuable goods; and this Sweyn was so pleased with his prize, that on his voyage home he covered his sails with the scarlet cloth, and called the expedition his scarlet cruise. This cloth was manufactured in England, and must have been made by the Flemish weavers who settled in Wales in the time of Henry the First.

THE NORMAN-ENGLISH CONQUEST.

1100 to 1172.

THE little that is known of the internal state of Ireland before it was conquered by the English, may lead us to conclude that it was a poor, and, in most respects, an uncivilized country. There can be no doubt that the clergy and monks were highly learned; but their learning was confined to their own class; while the kings and chiefs studied no art but that of conquering and plundering their neighbours.

The middle classes consisted partly of the farmers who rented lands of the clergy and chiefs, and partly of the small proprietors who had land of their own; for it was still the custom to divide estates according to the Brehon law, which I have before described; so that there were great numbers of small landholders, who lived chiefly on the produce of their own little possessions. The very lowest classes were extremely poor and wretched, and were supported principally by the charity of the monks and nuns. Freedom, however, was general, as there was no feudal system in Ireland, and no bondmen were attached to the soil. The only slaves were those who were purchased, or the prisoners taken in battle. The Irish, therefore, though barbarous in their habits of life, were a proud race of people,

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for none were degraded by slavery, nor compelled to perform menial offices for their lords, like the feudal vassals in some other countries of Europe.

At the time when Henry the Second was reigning in England, there was a king of Leinster, named Dermot Mac Murrough, a ferocious, cruel man, whose violent conduct had created him many enemies, among whom was a nobleman of Connaught, whose name was O'Ruark, the lord of Breffney. Dermot had done many injuries to O'Ruark, and at last took away his wife; on which O'Ruark applied to Roderick O'Connor, the supreme king of Ireland, for redress; and they both together went to war with Dermot, and drove him from his kingdom.

The deposed monarch fled to England, hoping to get assistance there for the recovery of his dominions; and determined to let nothing stand in the way of the revenge he meditated, which was no less than to betray his country into the hands of the English. Henry the Second was at this time in Normandy, and his mind was much occupied with his own troubles at home, being involved in disputes with Thomas à Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury; nevertheless, he received the Irish monarch, who had repaired to Normandy, with great courtesy, for the conquest of Ireland was an object he had long had in contemplation; and an opportunity like this for the accomplishment of his wishes was not to be neglected. He therefore told Dermot that he had no objection to give him all the assistance he required, on condition that if, by that means, he should recover his kingdom of Leinster, he would consent to hold it in vassalage of the crown of England, and would also aid the English to conquer the rest of the island.

Dermot readily accepted the proposals of Henry, who several years previously had obtained from the Pope permission to undertake the conquest of Ireland; promising that, in case of success, he would engage that the Irish

should pay the annual tax of Peter pence to the see of Rome, which they never yet had done.

The Pope who granted this licence, Adrian the Fourth, was an Englishman, and the only one who ever attained to that dignity; he therefore naturally took more interest in the affairs of England than he would have done had he been a foreigner; and not only gave the required permission, and invested Henry with the sovereignty of Ireland, but sent him a gold ring adorned with a fine emerald; an emblematical gift, signifying that he made the king a present of the Emerald Island, a name by which Ireland was sometimes distinguished, on account of its verdant beauty.

Henry, having thus secured the support of the Pope and the alliance of the traitorous Irish monarch, furnished the latter with letters to carry with him to England, written in these terms:

“Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Norman, Welsh, and Scotch, and to all the nations under his dominion, sends greeting: As soon as the present letters shall come to your hands, know that Dermot, prince of Leinster, has been received into the bosom of our grace and benevolence; wherefore, whosoever within the ample extent of our territories shall be willing to lend aid to the restoration of this prince, as our faithful and liege subject, let such person know that we do hereby grant to him for the said purpose our licence and favour.”

Thus qualified, Dermot returned to England, but made very little progress in raising forces till he happened to become acquainted with Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, a nobleman who had ruined his fortune by a reckless liberality, and who had obtained the surname of Strongbow, from his skill in archery. Dermot was very glad to meet with a man so well fitted for his purpose, nor was Earl Strongbow less pleased to be engaged in such an enterprise

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The affair was speedily arranged between them. It was stipulated that, if Dermot should regain his kingdom by the earl's assistance, the latter was to be rewarded with broad lands in Ireland, and to marry the lady Eva, Dermot's young and lovely daughter, and his heirs were to succeed to the throne of Leinster.

As soon as it was known that the valiant earl of Pembroke had entered into an alliance with the Irish king, two young Norman knights, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen, who were half-brothers, and both of whom depended on their swords for preferment, offered their services, which were joyfully accepted; and they were to receive as a remuneration the town of Waterford and the adjoining land, to be held in fief of the king of Leinster; so that at length the feudal system was about to find its way into Ireland.

When all their plans were arranged, Dermot returned to Leinster, and concealed himself all the winter in a monastery, as the invasion was not to take place till the spring. The secret was only communicated to a few persons, who were known to be devoted to his interest; and who employed the interval in collecting his friends together, that they might be ready at a moment's notice to join the expected forces from England as soon as they should arrive. This arrangement had nearly proved fatal to the whole plot; for early in the spring a small party came over from Wales, intending to wait quietly for the arrival of the main army; but the intelligence being communicated, with some exaggerations, to Dermot, he concluded that all his allies were come; and quitting his retreat, boldly put himself at the head of his little band of Irish. The mistake was quickly discovered, but not before King Roderick and O'Ruark, the lord of Breffney, had become aware that Dermot was in Ireland, and making preparations for war; but they had not the least suspicion of his negotiations in England, or they

would not have dealt so leniently with him as they did; for they accepted his offers of submission, and even gave him back a portion of his kingdom, on condition that he would do homage to Roderick, and give seven hostages for his future good behaviour. To all these terms, Dermot consented with pretended humility, for he only wanted to gain time; and as soon as the English army arrived, which was in May, he hastened to join it with all the troops he could muster. The first party that landed was under the command of Fitz-Stephen; who brought with him thirty knights of his own family; sixty men in coats of mail, and three hundred archers; and these were soon followed by another band of equal strength.

They first laid siege to Waterford, which soon surrendered, through the advice of the priests, who were disposed to favour Dermot, because he was liberal in his gifts to the church. As soon as Waterford was taken, Dermot fulfilled his engagement with the two Norman brothers, by investing them with the lordship of the city and its domain; and he bestowed fiefs on several other knights and nobles who had accompanied the expedition; so that there were now feudal barons in Ireland; and the inhabitants of these baronial lands remained for ages a community distinct from the natives, both in language and manners.

The possession of Waterford was a grand acquisition for Dermot, because it served him for a garrison, from which he could issue forth whenever he pleased, to make attacks on the neighbouring chiefs. The cruelties committed by the Normans in these incursions, aroused Roderick, who was neither very brave nor very active, to some degree of exertion; and he called together an assembly of the princes and chiefs, at Tara, to consult about the best means of defending the country, and freeing it from the presence of the Normans. But the chieftains, as usual, instead of adopting means to repel the enemy, quarrelled with each other; and

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many of them drew off their troops from the king's army, and returned home. Roderick himself, who, as I said before, was not distinguished for courage, preferred making peace to fighting battles with the warlike Normans; therefore he sent proposals of peace to Dermot, by which he agreed to acknowledge him as king of Leinster, provided he, Dermot, would dismiss all the foreigners in his service, and do homage to him for his kingdom. Dermot, who was very anxious to be reinstated on his throne by any means whatever, consented to these terms as the readiest way of attaining that object; and even placed his favourite son, Connor, as a hostage in the hands of the king, who promised, on his part, to treat the youth well, so long as his father performed his part of the contract; which the faithless monarch had no intention of doing, as we shall soon see.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Dublin had elected for themselves a king of Danish origin; and refused to pay the customary tribute to Dermot, as king of Leinster: therefore, instead of dismissing his English allies, according to his agreement with Roderick, Dermot sent them to besiege Dublin, and welcomed with joy a fresh reinforcement that was brought over by Maurice Fitzgerald. The citizens of Dublin being unaccustomed to war, and not prepared for a long siege, were soon reduced to most dreadful distress, and were obliged to open their gates to the besiegers.

Dermot, being thus master of Dublin, threw off his allegiance to Roderick; who was compelled to retire to Connaught. Dermot, elated with success, now began to think of usurping the throne of Ireland; and on consulting his English friends as to this ambitious project, they encouraged his design, and advised him to write to the earl of Pembroke about it. This nobleman, although he had affected to treat the affairs of Ireland with carelessness, had been secretly watching with great anxiety the progress made by his coun-

trymen; and as soon as he found there was a prospect of ultimate success, he sent over a great number of his own vassals, who landed near Waterford, and erected a fortress of wood and turf at the foot of a rock, where they could await the arrival of Strongbow himself, who was ready to make his appearance on the scene.

During this time, King Henry had been so busy with his own affairs, that he had found no leisure to think much about Ireland; but when he learned that some of the English barons were gaining ground in that country, he resolved to put a stop to their proceedings; as it was not unlikely, that if they conquered the country, they might be inclined to keep possession of it. He therefore sent a positive command to Strongbow not to leave England on any account, and to recall immediately all his vassals from Ireland. The bold earl, however, did not think proper to abandon so promising an enterprise; therefore, in defiance of the royal mandate, he set sail from Milford-haven with a large army, composed partly of his own retainers, and partly of volunteers who had joined him in his march through Wales.

It was on St. Bartholomew's eve that the earl of Pembroke landed at the fort near Waterford, and joined the little band that was stationed there. Dermot had not been able to keep possession of the city of Waterford, but after it had been closely besieged by Strongbow, it was again taken, and all the wretched inhabitants, including women and children, were put to the sword. In the midst of this shocking scene, Dermot arrived, accompanied by Fitzgerald and Fitz-Stephen, and the lady Eva, the destined bride of the English earl. Scarcely had the royal party entered the city, when news arrived of a revolt in Dublin; and that the new governor, so lately appointed by Dermot, had declared for Roderick and the lord of Breffney, who were on their march thither. This unwelcome intelligence made it necessary to proceed to Dublin without delay; therefore the

marriage of Strongbow and Eva was celebrated in haste, while the dead bodies of the murdered citizens and their children were yet lying unburied in the streets.

Meanwhile, the people of Dublin, expecting the approach of Dermot and his allies, had posted all their soldiers in the woods, to intercept them, and prevent them from reaching the city; but Dermot was apprised of this manœuvre, and instead of leading his troops through the woods, took his course along the tops of the Wicklow mountains, and suddenly appeared before the gates of the city. The consternation of the citizens may readily be imagined. Some of the priests mounted the walls, to hold a conference with the enemy, and try to make terms by which the lives of the citizens might be spared; but while they were speaking, the soldiers having found a part of the wall undefended, had entered the streets, where they were repeating the horrid scenes that had taken place at Waterford. Amidst the confusion, Hasculf, the governor, and many of the principal men in the city, with their wives and children, escaped in some boats that were lying in the bay, and sailed for the Orkney islands, while the priests and monks were exerting themselves to check the fury of the soldiers.

Meanwhile, King Roderick, instead of coming to the aid of Dublin, had gone on some other enterprise into Meath, whither he was pursued by Strongbow, whose track was marked with fire and slaughter; for the Normans, as we have seen in the histories of other countries, were very cruel in their mode of warfare. Roderick now sent word to Dermot, that if he did not return to his allegiance, his son Connor's head should be cut off; but Dermot returned a haughty answer; on which the innocent youth, with two other hostages, was put to death.

The Irish, began to think that this Norman invasion was a scourge sent by God to punish them for their sins; they therefore resolved to perform some signal act of piety

to avert the wrath of heaven; and a council was held at Armagh to consider the subject. It was the general opinion, that the present misfortunes of the people were owing to their wickedness in buying slaves of the English merchants; therefore, it was resolved that all the English who were in bondage should be restored to liberty; a resolution which was carried into effect.

When Henry the Second heard that the earl of Pembroke had gone to Ireland in disobedience to his commands, he was so much displeased, that he stopped all communication between the two countries, at the same time sending orders that all his subjects in Ireland should return home before Easter, on pain of banishment, and the forfeiture of their estates. The effect of this mandate were soon felt by Strongbow, who received no more supplies from home, while many of his knights and soldiers deserted him and returned to England. In this emergency, he wrote to King Henry, reminding him that his majesty had himself, in the first instance, invited his subjects to aid in replacing Dermot on his throne, and declaring that whatever conquests he might make, he should consider them as not belonging to himself, but to the king.

To this letter he received no answer, for Henry was labouring under great anxiety of mind in consequence of the murder of Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury; and as Dermot died just about this time, Strongbow succeeded to the throne of Leinster, in right of his wife Eva, according to his treaty with her father. The people of Ireland were averse to seeing an Englishman reigning in any part of their country, and the natives who had served in his army while Dermot was alive, began to desert him in great numbers. Added to these misfortunes, Hasculf, the governor of Dublin, who had fled to the Orkney islands, now returned and sailed up the Liffey with sixty ships filled with troops armed in the Danish manner, with coats of mail, and red shields.

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They laid siege to Dublin, but were defeated with great loss, and Hasculf was taken and beheaded; but, notwithstanding this success, the English force was very much weakened, and one able Irish chieftain, such as Brien Boru, might have driven them all out of the country.

The only hero who distinguished himself at this period, was the archbishop of Dublin, celebrated in Irish history as St. Lawrence O'Toole. This patriotic churchman went from province to province, exhorting the chiefs to forget their private quarrels, and unite, under one banner, to preserve the freedom of their native land. He also despatched emissaries to Godfred, the king of Man, begging he would send ships to aid in wresting the city of Dublin from the captors. The English, therefore, were soon surrounded by an army of besiegers, headed by the prelate clad in armour, who animated the troops by his courage and patriotic exhortations. The siege had lasted two months, and the English were reduced almost to despair for want of food, when Strongbow received intelligence that his ally, Fitz-Stephen, was in the utmost distress, being shut up in a fort at Carrick, with his wife and children, and being so completely surrounded by foes, that they must all inevitably perish, if not relieved in two or three days.

In this unfavourable state of affairs, Strongbow summoned a council of war to deliberate upon the means of escaping from the city. After some consultation, it was decided that the only chance of escape left was to throw the gates suddenly open, and force their way through the enemy's camp. The besiegers, totally unprepared for such an enterprise, no sooner beheld the gates flung open, and the soldiers rushing forth upon them, than they fled in the utmost confusion; while Strongbow and his men plundered their tents, and returned to the city in the evening laden with sufficient provisions for a twelvemonth. Having thus unexpectedly dispersed his foes, the earl hastened to the

relief of his friend Fitz-Stephen; but he was too late, for the gallant knight had fallen into the hands of the people of Waterford, through the following stratagem, which they cunningly employed to entrap him. A messenger had been sent to his castle with the false intelligence that Roderick was in possession of Dublin, that Strongbow, Fitzgerald, and all the English knights, were killed, and that the king was on his march towards Wexford, with the full intent of putting every Englishman to the sword. Fitz-Stephen was in sad distress at this news, expecting soon to see his wife and children murdered before his face; he therefore eagerly accepted the offer of his treacherous foes, to aid him in making his escape, and imprudently quitted his strong castle to put himself, his family, and friends, into their hands. No sooner, however, were the credulous victims in their power, than they put some to death, and threw Fitz-Stephen with the rest into prison.

Scarcely had this treacherous deed been accomplished, when those who had laid the plot were thrown into the utmost consternation at hearing that the Irish had been driven from the walls of Dublin, and that Earl Strongbow was coming to Carrick with all speed, to the rescue of Fitz-Stephen and his companions. The people of Waterford hastily collected their most valuable effects, set fire to the town, and taking their prisoners with them, retired to a small island near the harbour. Strongbow regretted the fate of his friends, and would have attacked the little island, but was deterred from doing so, by being told that if either of his vessels should be seen approaching, the heads of all the English prisoners would be struck off.

In the meantime, King Henry, not being satisfied with the proceedings in Ireland, had raised a large army for the purpose of repairing thither. The expenses of this expedition were very great, and as he had not money to defray them, he had levied a tax on all landed estates, called

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scutage, which meant that the holders of lands should pay certain sums, proportioned to the value of their estates, instead of going to the wars themselves. This tax having been collected, the king was able to pay hired soldiers; so that he soon raised a very sufficient army, and had advanced as far as Gloucestershire, when he received a message from Earl Strongbow, requesting to be admitted to his presence. The earl had come thus hastily to England, hoping to effect a reconciliation with the king before his landing, as he knew he must eventually submit.

It was some time before Henry would consent to see him; being still much displeased at his conduct; but at last he was pardoned, on condition that he should give up to the king the town of Dublin, with all the sea ports and fortresses he had gained in Ireland. The king on his part agreed that all the rest of the earl's possessions should remain to him and his heirs for ever, to be held in fief of the English crown. This treaty being concluded, they both embarked with the army for Ireland, and landed at Waterford on the eighteenth of October, 1171. The arrival of the king of England in person had a wonderful effect upon the Irish, who did not make the slightest attempt to oppose him. The citizens of Waterford, who had behaved so dishonourably with regard to the surrender of Carrick castle, now meanly came to offer their submission to the king, and gave up to him Fitz-Stephen and the rest of the prisoners.

There never was a conquest more easily made than that of Ireland by Henry the Second. He had not occasion to fight a single battle, for every prince and chief in the island came forward to acknowledge his sovereignty. The form prescribed by Henry was, that each chief should do homage, surrender his domain, and receive it back again in vassalage, so that the Irish princes, who had so long ruled as so many independent sovereigns, were from that time vassals of the king of England. Roderick himself, the last of the

native monarchs of Ireland, submitted to the same form; and Ireland became dependant on the English crown until the Union, when it was made part of the United Kingdom.

As Christmas was approaching, Henry proposed to celebrate that festival at Dublin, and invited to it King Roderick, and all the Irish princes, who had reason to be satisfied with their reception, as they were treated with great courtesy, and feasted with the most sumptuous hospitality. The banquet was held in a temporary pavilion, which had been constructed of wattles for the occasion, as there was no building in Dublin large enough to contain such an assemblage. Before the king quitted Ireland he held a synod, or council, at Cashel, for the purpose of making laws for the future government of the country. In the formation of these laws his chief care was to extend the power and revenues of the clergy, as he well knew that his own authority depended very much upon the support of a class of men who had so much influence over the people. It was therefore decreed that every land-owner should pay a tithe, that is, a tenth part of the produce of his estate to the church of his own parish; that no church lands should pay taxes or tribute of any kind to laymen; that no petty king or chieftain should exact victuals or enforce hospitality in districts belonging to the church, and that certain contributions which used to be levied by the chiefs four times a year, on the tenants whose farms were on ecclesiastical estates, should no longer be paid.

All marriages were prohibited within the degrees of relationship forbidden by the church of Rome; and with respect to the disposal of property, it was ordained that when a man was ill, and likely to die, he should send for his confessor and his neighbours, and make a will, by which his debts were first to be paid, and the remainder of his property divided into three shares, the first for his wife, the second for his children, and the third part to pay the expenses of his funeral. Although these new regulations of Henry the

Second seemed to apply to the natives of the country, you must understand that all the laws made for Ireland both by him and his immediate successors down to the beginning of the reign of Edward the First, were made chiefly for the benefit of the English settlers, and afforded but little protection to the natives. This was one great cause of the discontent and misery of the Irish, for they very soon found they had no power left to enforce their own ancient laws, and not being protected by any others, they were, in those times, subjected to all kinds of tyranny and oppression.

It is said by some historians, that Henry the Second divided Ireland into shires, and appointed sheriffs and other officers over them, as in England; but it is doubtful whether this division was made before the reign of King John. It was Henry, however, who established the feudal system in Ireland, as it existed in other countries, by granting estates to his officers for military services, homage, and fealty; and he considered it of so much importance that lands should be held by this tenure, that he obliged Earl Strongbow to resign his principality of Leinster, which he had acquired by marriage, and accept it on a new grant for military service.

Earl Strongbow was at this period the most powerful Englishman in Ireland, both on account of the extent of his possessions and his military talents; therefore Henry, to counterbalance the power of this daring baron, which he thought might hereafter endanger his own authority, gave the baron Hugh de Lacy and his heirs for ever, the territory of Meath, to be held by the service of fifty knights. The granting of Meath to an English lord, gave more dissatisfaction to the Irish than any thing the king had yet done. Meath had been the seat of their ancient monarchy, and they could not, without dissatisfaction, view the English baron usurping, as it were, the very throne of their native sovereigns. Large territories, too, had been given to other English nobles in Limerick, Cork, and Kerry; and to strengthen their authority, the king had created the high

offices of Lord High Constable, Earl Marshal, and High Steward, or Seneschal; so that, in fact, a Norman-English government was established in Ireland.

I have already mentioned that during the siege of Dublin the principal citizens had fled with their families and all the property they could carry away, to the Orkney islands and the isle of Man. They made several ineffectual attempts to regain possession of the city, but finding they were not likely to succeed, they settled themselves quietly in those islands. King Henry, therefore, desirous that Dublin should still be a commercial city, gave it to the inhabitants of Bristol, because they were a trading people, and had long carried on an extensive commerce with Ireland, particularly with Dublin and Waterford. History does not tell us whether any colonists were sent from Bristol to Dublin; but as Dublin is soon afterwards noticed as a fine flourishing town, and the metropolis of Ireland, we may reasonably suppose that the citizens of Bristol did not slight the royal donation. The king was obliged to return suddenly to England, before he had quite completed the settlement of his new kingdom; and having given orders for the building of several strong castles, he left Ireland in April, 1172. On landing in Wales, he assumed the dress and staff of a pilgrim, and went on foot to the church of St. David, to return thanks for the prosperous termination of his enterprise.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND,
TO THE
DEATH OF ITS LAST KING, RODERICK.

1172 to 1198.

THE Romans used to say, that the day on which they con-

quered a people was the last day of their enmity with them, as the vanquished then became their fellow citizens, were made partakers of their rights and privileges, and shared in the advantages of a free and independent government. The same noble spirit led them to improve the countries they had subdued, and to civilise and instruct the people. If such a system had been pursued towards the Irish, they would probably have become a more prosperous and a happier nation.

After the departure of the king, the animosity against the English, which had been suppressed while he was present, began to show itself among the Irish chiefs, who found themselves dispossessed of much of their lands by the unjust usurpation of strangers. Rebellions broke out over the whole country, and as Strongbow was regarded as the principal cause of every evil that had occurred, all hostilities were directed against him, and he soon found himself in a perilous situation. Just at this time, too, a spirit of discontent had arisen among the English soldiers, who were not regularly paid, and were commanded by an officer named Fitz-Maurice, who had made himself very unpopular with them, because he would not suffer them to ravage the country to pay themselves.

But there was another officer in the army, named Raymond le Gros, who was much in favour with the troops, because he was by no means so scrupulous as Fitz-Maurice, the commander; they therefore all declared that unless Raymond was appointed general, instead of Fitz-Maurice, they would return to England without delay. Strongbow had a beautiful sister, the lady Basilia, to whom Raymond was much attached, but as his rank was far inferior to that of the noble earl, he had never presumed to make his attachment known. But as soon as he found how much influence he had with the soldiers, he thought he should be able to bring the earl to any terms, as the loss of the army

at a time when the Irish were ready to seize every opportunity of revenge, would leave him without the means of defence. He therefore boldly demanded the hand of the lady Basilia in marriage, as well as the appointment of constable and standard bearer, which was the highest office in Leinster.

The earl was very much surprised at such a proposal, and haughtily rejected the suit; on which Raymond resigned his command and went over to Wales, followed by numbers of the soldiers, many of whom were his own retainers. Strongbow was soon reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to send for Raymond, promising that if he would return, and bring all the assistance in his power, he should wed the lady, and receive the appointments he desired. The delighted lover soon collected a considerable force, and arrived at Waterford just in time to save the English garrison, which was on the point of being taken by the Irish, who would have put every Englishman in the place to death. His seasonable appearance was hailed with joy; and his marriage was celebrated with much splendour.

Raymond, however, was soon obliged to leave his bride, for news came that Roderick was in arms, and advancing towards Dublin; and although an Irish army was at this period little more than a collection of undisciplined half-naked barbarians, who were no match for the Norman-English soldiers, still it was necessary to stop their progress. Raymond, therefore, marched off at the head of his troops to meet Roderick, who was quickly defeated, and the cruel victor suffered his soldiers to go in pursuit of the fugitives, and plunder the country.

It would be useless to tell of all the rebellions that broke out, and all the battles in which Raymond le Gros distinguished himself, till at length a new treaty was made between King Henry and King Roderick, by which the former promised that as long as Roderick should serve him as a

faithful vassal, he should hold his hereditary dominions as firmly and peaceably as he had held them before he took the oath of allegiance. He was also promised the sovereignty over all the rest of the native kings and princes; but, in return, was bound to compel them to pay tribute to the king of England. The Irish kings and princes also were to hold their territories in peace, so long as they paid their tribute, and remained faithful vassals to the English monarch; but if they failed to do so, or were otherwise rebellious, they were to forfeit their domains.

The annual tribute that was to be paid to Henry by the Irish was one hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland; which tax, in a country where cattle were numerous, produced in the course of a year an immense number of hides, which were sold to make leather, and yielded a considerable revenue. By this compact, it was also determined that all future kings of England should be lords paramount of Ireland, and that all future kings of Ireland should hold their dominions as vassals of the English crown. You will see by this that Roderick was still sovereign of Ireland, but his authority did not extend over any part of the country possessed by the English barons, which was called the English Pale, and comprised the whole of Meath and Leinster, Dublin, Waterford, and all the country from Waterford to Dungarvan. The pale may therefore be considered as the English part of Ireland, and all the rest of the country the Irish part, or Irishry, as it was then called.

In the year 1174, the Pope's bull or decree, granting the kingdom of Ireland to Henry the Second, was first proclaimed in that country; and also a brief from Pope Alexander the Third, who succeeded Adrian the Fourth, confirming the decree of his predecessor, on condition of the payment of Peter pence. In the following year died Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, who, under the name of Strongbow, had made so conspicuous a figure in the conquest of

Ireland. He left an only daughter, Isabel, heiress of all his vast possessions. The taste for building churches and monasteries prevailed at this period to a great extent among the wealthy in Ireland, whether they were natives of the country or English settlers. Strongbow founded a priory at Kilmainham for the Knights Templars, and endowed it with lands; and, indeed, there were few of the English nobles who were not the founders or benefactors of religious establishments.

Great numbers of the Irish females of rank were, at this time, nuns; which is not surprising, since the world could have had but few attractions for them in a country constantly harassed by warfare, where even life was uncertain, and where the comforts of domestic life were utterly unknown. Most of the abbesses were the daughters of kings or princes; and during the middle ages, many of the kings themselves, weary of fighting, were glad to seek repose in the calm retreat of a cloister. There was a famous abbey, called the Abbey of the Virgin Mary, at Dublin, supposed to have been founded by the Danes. It was very rich, and celebrated for the number of its saints and learned men. Fitz-Stephen gave to this abbey an altar of stone, and the staff that St. Patrick used to carry in his hand. This staff was covered with gold, and inlaid or studded with pearls, and it was taken by Fitz-Stephen from Armagh, at the time of the wars.

During all the troubles that I have narrated, the province of Ulster had remained at peace. This division of the country, particularly those parts of it that were nearest to Scotland, was inhabited, as it is now, principally by Scots, who here fed their cattle, and lived in comparative tranquillity, till a knight, named De Courcy, who came over from England with the new governor, Fitz Aldelm, after the death of Strongbow, fancied he was destined to subdue this hitherto unconquered province. De Courcy was one of those

romantic knights who were fond of seeking adventures; and his present wild scheme of undertaking the conquest of Ulster originated in an ancient prophecy relating to that kingdom, which pretended to foretell that it would be subdued by a white knight on a white horse, bearing birds on his shield. Now this knight was so firmly persuaded that he was the very person alluded to in the prophecy, that he furnished himself with a milk white steed, and decorated his shield with a quantity of bees, thinking, perhaps, that bees, being furnished with wings, bore a sufficient resemblance to birds, to correspond with the prophecy; and he also carried about with him the book in which the destiny of the white knight was written, and never went to rest without placing it under his pillow.

The governor had expressly commanded De Courcy to abandon his project, for he knew that the king would be much displeased if the peace of any province should be invaded while the people remained quiet, and paid their tribute; but the knight was resolved to try his fortune, and in defiance of all authority, set off at the head of a band of soldiers, into Ulster, and proceeded forthwith to Downpatrick, the capital.

The inhabitants of the city were aroused at daybreak from their sleep by the sound of the English bugles, and, starting up, saw the streets filled with armed troops. The houses were forced open and plundered, and many of the inmates fell victims to the cruelty and rapacity of the soldiers, who were soon masters of the town, for the people had been too suddenly surprised to offer any resistance. The Pope's legate, Cardinal Vivian, who had just arrived in Ulster, did every thing in his power to make peace; but De Courcy was so bent upon fulfilling the prophecy, that nothing could induce him to relinquish his design. O'Niel, the king of Ulster, by the advice of the cardinal, came forward boldly to oppose the invader; and a hard-fought battle took place,

which ended in the defeat of the Irish, and the triumph of the Norman knight. All the petty chiefs of Ulster were now in arms, and although De Courcy was generally victorious, he several times very narrowly escaped being captured. On one occasion, he had taken a number of cattle, and was driving them to his own quarters, when he was suddenly attacked by two of the chiefs. His whole party was cut to pieces, and he himself was obliged to flee. He was closely pursued, but after two days and nights, during which he neither tasted food nor took rest, he reached his castle at Downpatrick, almost dead with hunger and fatigue.

Meanwhile, the disturbances caused in Ireland by the wars of De Courcy, and the quarrels among some of the Irish princes, induced King Henry to apply to the Pope for permission to make his second surviving son, John, king of Ireland, in vassalage to the English crown. The Pope gave the permission, but Henry changed his mind, and instead of making John king, he only made him lord, of Ireland, and sent him over to receive anew the submission of the Irish princes. He also framed more laws for the English settled in Ireland, and appointed as their governor, Hugh de Lacy, the lord of Meath, in the place of Fitz-Aldelm, who was much disliked. The new governor employed himself in building castles to defend the English pale from the inroads of the native chiefs, who were constantly on the watch for opportunities of regaining the ground they had lost.

In the year 1186, Prince John of England, then about nineteen years of age, arrived in Ireland, with a fleet of twenty ships. He was accompanied by a train of nobles, mostly young men, and ill qualified to promote a friendly feeling between the conquerors and the conquered, which might have been a means of preserving peace in the country. When Henry was in Ireland, his affable manners towards the rude chieftains had pleased and flattered them, so that many had ever since lived very contentedly under the Eng-

lism dominion; and as soon as they heard of the arrival of the king's son, they hastened to pay their respects to him, as they had done to his father. The reception they met with, however, was so different from what they had expected, that they all went away with feelings of hatred towards the English which no time could subdue. Nor was this surprising, considering the rudeness with which they were treated by Prince John and his companions.

It appears, that when the chiefs were introduced into the presence of the prince, they were dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a linen garment dyed with saffron, the sleeves of which were large and loose, and hung down as low as their knees; over this they wore tight woollen jackets and trowsers, and coarse mantles fringed with a variety of colours. They wore no covering upon their heads, but their hair was very long, and curled down their backs, and their beards also were long and bushy, so that, altogether, they presented a singular appearance; but this costume, being national, should not have been made a subject for ridicule; yet the ill-mannered English noblemen burst into loud laughter, and when the Irish princes approached to offer the kiss of peace, according to the custom of their country, they were rudely repelled, and some of the attendants pulled their beards. These unmerited insults made a deep and lasting impression on the indignant chiefs; who returned to their homes bent on revenge; and immediately withdrawing with their families from the English pale, they went into other parts of the country to join those kings and princes who were hostile to the English government. The conduct of Prince John aroused the indignation of the natives over the whole country. All the great chiefs assembled together, and bound themselves by solemn oaths to stand by each other for the recovery of their independence; and the terrible insurrection that followed had nearly proved fatal to the English cause in Ireland, for the greater

part of the army, and many of the inhabitants of the pale were destroyed, their houses burned down, and their lands wasted.

When King Henry heard of this revolt, he sent to recall the prince, with his companions, who had been the cause of all the mischief, and placed the entire management of the government, both civil and military, in the hands of De Courcy; who had succeeded in gaining a great deal of power and territory in Ulster, and was well fitted to overcome difficulties. The late governor, Baron de Lacy, had met his death in the following dreadful manner:—He was engaged in building a castle at a place called Darmaigh, in the south of Meath, and being in the habit of superintending the works himself, he was out with three soldiers and a native labourer, giving directions about the outer wall, when, as he was stooping down to mark out the line for it, the Irishman drew forth a battle-axe he had contrived to hide under his clothes, and struck off his head. The murderer escaped into the woods, and was never discovered.

Lawrence O'Toole, the celebrated archbishop of Dublin, died during the government of the Baron de Lacy. He had struggled hard to preserve the freedom of his country, and when all hope of success was over, and he had given up the contest, he was chosen as ambassador on particular occasions to the court of England, where he was always treated with the respect due to his elevated character. He was brave, patriotic, learned, pious, and benevolent. He spent large sums in charity, and every day gave away food to those who were in want, so that his death was much regretted by the poor in his diocese; who, in sickness, famine, or distress of any kind, had always found a benefactor in the good archbishop. He was succeeded by an Englishman.

After the death of the baron de Lacy, De Courcy, now earl of Ulster, was the most powerful English chief in Ireland, but the conquests he made were more owing to the

dissentions among the native princes than to any extraordinary ability of his own; for when two Irish chiefs quarrelled, each was so eager to gain advantage over the other, that he never failed to employ the readiest means of obtaining it, without stopping to consider what future evils he might bring upon himself. Thus De Courcy was often in league with one prince against another; and as they became weaker by their own wars with each other, they were more easily conquered by him, whenever he chose to turn his arms against them.

This was the state of Ireland when Henry the Second died, in 1189. He was succeeded by Richard Cœur de Lion, who left his brother John in undisturbed possession of that country; for he was too busy with the Crusades and his disputes with Philip, king of France, to pay much attention to the condition of Ireland.

But during these events, what had become of Roderick, the king? About the time that Prince John visited Ireland, this unfortunate sovereign retired from the world, and spent the last thirteen years of his life in a monastery. The best act of his life was an effort that he made to revive in Ireland the learning for which it had been so famous; and with that laudable view, he gave great encouragement to the schools of Armagh, and established an annual pension for the head master, which was paid in oxen, a very common mode of payment at that time, but rather an odd pension to be paid to a schoolmaster. However, the fact of having endowed a school reflects great credit on Roderick O'Connor. He died in 1198, since which time, there has been no king of Ireland till the time of Henry the Eighth, unless we add to the list of its sovereigns the Scottish prince, Edward Bruce, who, some time after the death of Roderick, invaded the country, and assumed the title of king, which he bore for the brief space of three years, as will be seen hereafter.

FROM THE DEATH OF RODERICK,

TO THE

FALL OF EDWARD BRUCE.

1198 to 1318.

THE history of Ireland, as an independent nation, ceases from this time, as all that follows, from the retirement of Roderick to the present period, is rather the history of the English in Ireland, and of their descendants, than that of the original people. The latter were, in general, expelled from the best parts of the country, which were occupied by the invaders, who thus became the ancestors of what are now considered by us as the Irish people, the real people of the country being driven to the mountainous parts of the island, and, after a few years, looked upon as an inferior race, and called, in allusion to the barbarous manners they had acquired in their mountain fastnesses, the wild Irish.

It is to be regretted that there is so little known of the social condition of the natives of Ireland while they were the lords of their own land; but no early writer has given any accurate account of their domestic habits, or the extent of their knowledge in the useful arts. For a long period after the conquest, we only hear of the Irish in connection with their frequent revolts against their invaders, and the attempts they made to recover the land that had been so unjustly wrested from them.

While Richard the First was engaged in the Crusades, the greatest confusion prevailed in Ireland; for the chiefs, knowing that all the best English warriors were away in the Holy Land, took advantage of their absence to invade

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the English pale; while De Courcy set all laws at defiance, and carried on war at his own will and pleasure, without paying the slightest attention to any commands he received from England. This daring soldier built several convents, and among them, a Benedictine priory, in an island off the coast of Down; for it was the fashion of the times to attempt atonement for all sorts of evil deeds by erecting religious houses; and few noblemen at that time, and for ages afterwards, remained long in Ireland without having many misdeeds to answer for; therefore the number of abbeys and churches was continually increasing.

When King John came to the throne of England, De Courcy refused to acknowledge his sovereignty, and was at last, for his many acts of disobedience to the royal authority, arrested, and sent over to England as a prisoner; where it is probable he died, as he never returned to Ireland; and the earldom of Ulster was given to Hugh de Lacy, the son of that baron who was killed by the Irish labourer.

The next royal visit paid to Ireland was that of King John; who, while his own kingdom was suffering under the Pope's interdict, crossed the Channel with a large army, for the purpose of restoring Ireland to some degree of order. His presence produced the desired effect; for although he had behaved so ill to the chiefs on a former occasion, no less than twenty of them now came to do him homage, and take the oath of allegiance; but I cannot tell you whether any of them were the same who had been so rudely treated by him when a thoughtless youth. At any rate, he acted more wisely now than at that early period, for he took some pains to make friends of them; and, among other civilities, presented each of them with a sufficient quantity of scarlet cloth for a robe, with which, as history states, they were much pleased.

The laws made in Ireland by King John were very similar to those established in England; but they afforded no pro-

tection to the native Irish, who would now have been very willing to submit to English domination, provided they might have been governed by those laws; but this policy was not pursued, and they were left open to all manner of oppression, without any means of redress, excepting by their own swords.

John divided the provinces of Leinster and Munster into twelve counties, over which he appointed sheriffs and other officers. He also ordered money to be coined for the use of his subjects in Ireland; caused the laws to be written, and constituted the bishop of Norwich lord chief justice of Ireland, with powers to see that all the laws were duly enforced. Having done this, he returned to England, and when he signed the Magna Charta, or the Great Charter, the privileges secured by it to the people of England were also extended to the English inhabitants of Ireland.

Among the many religious buildings erected at this period was the celebrated monastery called Tintern abbey; built by William, Earl Marshal of England, who married Isabel, the daughter of Strongbow, and on that account became earl of Pembroke. This nobleman was appointed governor of Ireland, and built the abbey in consequence of a vow he had made during a storm at sea, that if he should reach the land in safety, he would found a monastery on the spot where his foot first touched dry ground. This favoured spot was in the Bay of Bannon, and there he built the monastery; to which has since been given the name of Tintern abbey, because it was first inhabited by monks from Tintern, in Monmouthshire. Near this abbey was the fine commercial town of Ross, fortified by the lady Isabel with a strong wall, which is all that now remains of this once flourishing city.

The barons who had acquired lands in Ireland, built castles on their estates, and exercised the same feudal authority over their bondmen, vassals, and retainers, of all descrip-

tions, as was customary in England. New grants of land were frequently made; and fresh lords came over, with their retinues, to occupy more of the country, leaving to the Irish still less and less of the land of their forefathers: and even that was only retained by force. Those who remained on the English territories became the feudal vassals of their oppressors, while the only body of people strong enough to assert their rights were the clergy, who still preserved much of their former power.

During the long reign of Henry the Third, the state of Ireland may be described as presenting one continued scene of strife and bloodshed. The natives, who were every year becoming poorer and more wretched, made many desperate efforts to rid themselves of a tyranny that was growing more and more insupportable; but, without organization and without funds, what could they do against such a powerful people as the English? they could but set fire to the castles, and murder all who came within their reach in this desultory warfare, which they usually did; and for which they were sure to meet with fearful reprisals.

What they chiefly complained of was, that they were unprotected by the laws; so that no injury inflicted on an Irishman was a punishable offence; therefore, when Edward the First ascended the English throne, a petition was addressed to him by the Irish chiefs, praying that he would extend to the natives of Ireland the benefit of the laws and usages of England, that the Irish might have some defence against the wrongs that were now heaped upon them; since any Englishman, whether freeman or slave, was at liberty to rob the Irish, and even murder them, with impunity, whilst any complaints of such outrages were treated with contempt and ridicule. The petition further stated, that if the king would be graciously pleased to grant this request, his Irish vassals would pay a sum of eight thousand marks into the treasury; for justice in those times

was not to be had in any country in Europe without being purchased, even at the hands of the king himself. Edward was not unwilling to grant this petition, but he knew that it would be useless for him to do so, unless the nobles in Ireland would also agree to it; he, therefore, decided that, provided the barons and church dignitaries of Ireland should give their consent, the laws established in that country should have reference equally to the colonists, and to the natives; but this decision was not carried into effect.

While the Irish were thus left without any defence from oppression but their swords, the English barons were perpetually engaged in wars with each other. Besides other differences, there was a violent feud between Fitzgerald, the baron of Offaley, who held the title of earl of Kildare, and the lord chief justice, De Vescy, who had married one of the three daughters of the lady Isabel, heiress of Strongbow, and by this union had come into possession of the territory of Kildare; so that Fitzgerald held the title, while De Vescy enjoyed the lands.

A mutual jealousy and dislike arose between the parties; and, at length, they both went to England to lay their complaints before the king; when Fitzgerald accused his rival of treason, and, according to the custom of the times, threw down his gauntlet, as a token that he challenged him to answer the accusation by single combat; which was then an usual mode of trying such cases. De Vescy took up the glove as a sign that he accepted the challenge, and a day was fixed for the trial. The time arrived, and the king and nobles were assembled to witness the fight, but no De Vescy appeared; and as his absence was regarded as an acknowledgement of guilt, the king bestowed the lands of Kildare on Fitzgerald, who immediately returned to Ireland, and declared war against every baron who had given his support to De Vescy.

He took the earl of Ulster and his sons prisoners, and

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confined them in a strong castle; and created so much disturbance throughout the English pale, that the new lord chief justice thought it necessary to adopt some effectual means of putting a stop to the scenes of violence that every day occurred. He therefore assembled a parliament, consisting of the nobles, the bishops, and a few other principal tenants of the crown, who passed certain laws to restrain the barons from engaging in private warfare without the permission of the king or governor; and who also enacted that no nobleman should have more retainers than he could maintain at his own expense, and that he should be answerable for all misdemeanours committed by his dependents, or kerns, as they were usually called.

The attention of this parliament was also directed to the unprotected state of the English territory, owing to the absence of those lords whose estates were on the borders; therefore it was ordained that all absentees should give up a part of the revenues derived from their Irish estates, for the purpose of keeping on them a military force to defend the English pale from the inroads of the natives; or if they failed to do so, they were to forfeit their lands.

It is not quite certain at what time parliaments were first held in Ireland, or whether, before this of which I am now speaking, there were any assemblies worthy of being so called; but in the time of Edward the Second, it was enacted that parliaments should be held in Ireland once a year.

Edward the First was engaged during a great part of his reign in carrying on wars in Scotland, with a view of making a conquest of that kingdom. It was in these wars that the celebrated heroes, William Wallace and Robert Bruce distinguished themselves as defenders of the liberty of their native land, and in these brave chiefs the king had formidable enemies to encounter. But his greatest difficulties arose from the nature of the country, the mountainous

districts of which presented continual obstacles to the progress of the English soldiers. Edward, therefore, thought it would be advisable to have in his army a number of Irish troops; because the Irish were accustomed to the wild mountainous regions of their own land; he therefore sent a letter to the lord chief justice of Ireland, desiring him to summon all the English barons, as well as the Irish princes, and order them to furnish themselves with horses and arms, and repair without delay to serve against the Scots, bringing with them all the forces they could muster. Few, however, of the native princes obeyed the command; and as most of the barons were obliged to go, the Irish did not fail to take advantage of their absence, by raising insurrections, and making attacks on the inhabitants of the English pale.

In the meantime, Wallace had been made prisoner, and executed, and Robert Bruce had been crowned king of Scotland. Still the war was proceeding with more fury than ever; and Bruce was at one time reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to fly from Scotland, and take shelter, with about three hundred faithful followers, in the small island of Rachrin, near the coast of Antrim. The inhabitants of this place, who were simple shepherds and herds-men, were at first terrified at the sight of so many armed men, thinking that they had arrived as hostile invaders; but the kind and gentle manners of the noble Bruce soon gained their good will, and they readily agreed to furnish him with food for himself and his men as long as he should find it necessary to remain. He staid among these hospitable people all the winter; and, early in the spring, he returned to Scotland with a much larger army; having been joined by many of the Irish princes, who did not wish to see the English power increased by the conquest of Scotland.

About this time, Edward the First died; and as the war was not carried on with the same spirit by his son, Bruce established himself on the throne of Scotland, and in the

year 1314, gained the celebrated battle of Bannockburn. The news of his successes had raised hopes in the hearts of the Irish that they might now be able to recover their long-lost freedom, and expel the English from the land.

In consequence of the many rebellions in Ireland, Edward the Second wrote to the Pope, complaining of the disloyalty of the Irish clergy, who, he said, encouraged the people to rebel against his authority; wherefore the Pope sent letters to the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, granting them full power to excommunicate all who should place themselves in opposition to the English government.

This rigorous measure aroused the indignation of the Irish chieftains against the Pope himself, and they addressed to him a spirited remonstrance, representing the injuries they had sustained from the English ever since the conquest; and praying him to take into consideration that they were made the prey of foreigners, who were trying to exterminate the native race, that they might appropriate to themselves the whole of the land; and that while all the best parts of the island were usurped by them, the rightful heirs of the soil were driven to the bogs and mountains, where they were obliged to fight for some dreary spot upon which they might exist.

They also reminded him that the kings of England had not fulfilled the conditions on which Adrian the Fourth had granted the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry the Second; for instead of having enlarged the territories of the church, they had constantly encroached on them; and had deprived many of the cathedrals of great part of their territory: they stated the great hardship of having no laws to protect their persons or property, unless they would submit to become vassals and villains to the English lords; so that they were exposed to insult, murder and robbery, without any means of obtaining redress or compensation, excepting by their own good swords; and ended by declaring, that in order to

free themselves from their present unhappy condition, they had sent to Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert, king of Scotland, to beg he would come and be their king, and help them to recover their country from the English. This letter was written by O'Niel, the prince of Tyrone. It was long, and displayed much eloquence and good sense; but the Pope took no notice of it. The chieftains had, however, sent to Robert Bruce, the Scottish king, offering to place themselves and their country entirely at his disposal, if he would aid them to expel the English, and appoint his brother to rule over them; and in consequence of this appeal, Edward Bruce, at the head of six thousand men, landed at Ulster, in the month of May, 1315.

He was young, brave, and sanguine, but had much of the ferocity that characterized the warriors of that age. The Irish princes flocked to his standard, and again war, with all its attendant horrors, devastated the country from one end to the other; for it was no sooner known that the Scots were in Ireland, than the natives of nearly all the provinces flew to arms, and the English were thrown into the utmost confusion and dismay. Many of the barons were made prisoners, some of the strongest castles were taken, the town of Dundalk was stormed and burned down, and the church of the Carmelite friars, in which some hundreds of the townspeople had taken refuge, in the hope of saving their lives, was savagely set on fire, and all the poor creatures who had fled thither to shelter themselves and their helpless children, perished in the flames. Such was the warfare carried on by Edward Bruce in Ireland, where he was crowned king, and acknowledged by all the native princes, except Fiedlim O'Connor, king of Connaught. This prince still adhered to the English, and thereby drew upon himself the enmity of the rest, who regarded him as being deficient in patriotism; and while he was absent, helping the English to defend themselves, one of his relations, Roderick O'Connor,

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usurped his principality, and obliged the people of Connaught to give him hostages for their fealty.

As soon as Fiedlim heard of this usurpation, he hurried back, and fought a battle with Roderick, who was slain; but as Fiedlim had become aware that, if he continued in league with the English, he must not expect to retain the good will of his people, he declared for Bruce, to the great joy of all the other chieftains, as well as of Bruce himself. Bruce received his oath of fealty at Northburg castle, in Ulster, where he held his court, and administered the government with as much authority as if there had been no one to dispute his title to the throne.

At the beginning of the following year, reinforcements arrived from Scotland, and the war, which had been suspended during the winter, was renewed with greater violence. Many of the English nobles who distinguished themselves in the contest were rewarded with lands and Irish titles, some of which are borne by their descendants to this very day. Hitherto the Scots and Irish had met with almost uninterrupted success, but fortune now began to favour the English; and Bruce, though generally victorious in battle, lost so many of his troops, that his high hopes began to fail, and he sent for more aid from his brother Robert, who came himself, bringing with him a strong reinforcement of Scots.

The English garrison of Carrickfergus was, at the time of Bruce's landing, in a state of siege, and so pressed by famine, that the soldiers were obliged to feed on the bodies of the horses that had died of starvation. Yet even this misery would scarcely have induced them to surrender, but for the arrival of a fresh army, which deprived them of all chance of saving the town. They therefore agreed to open their gates to the king of Scotland, on condition that he would spare the lives of the soldiers who had so bravely defended the fortress, which he promised to do, for he was

more merciful than his brother Edward. The gates of Carrickfergus were therefore thrown open to the Scots, who immediately took possession of the place. When the gallant Bruce had made himself master of this strong town, he threatened to lay siege to Dublin unless it were surrendered to him; but the citizens declared they would defend it to the last man; and, by order of the mayor, set fire to the suburbs, although in doing so, several churches were destroyed. By the suburbs, I mean all that part of the city which was outside the walls; and the mayor caused them to be set on fire that the enemy might thus be deprived of food and quarters. This spirited conduct saved the inhabitants from the horrors of a siege, for Bruce gave up the project, and being joined by his brother, marched southward to invade Kilkenny.

The track of the army through the country was marked with desolation. Churches were broken open and plundered by the soldiers, the cattle and sheep seized to furnish them with provisions, the villages set on fire, and all kinds of outrage committed; so that many were reduced to beggary, and meat and corn became so scarce, that hundreds of people died of hunger. In this manner the Scots proceeded through the south of Ireland, till, at last, they began to feel the same distress for want of supplies to which they had reduced others; and Robert Bruce, finding there was not the least chance of being able to expel the English, resolved to return to Scotland, where his presence was much required; and leave his brother to fight his own battles, if he chose to pursue so hopeless an enterprise.

The quarrels and divisions among the Irish chiefs had, as usual, been the great means of preventing them from profiting by their alliance with the Scots; and although Robert Bruce left the greater part of his army in Ireland, the cause of freedom did not advance one step further after his departure; and, in 1318, Edward Bruce was killed at the

battle of Dundalk, having borne the title of king of Ireland for three years.

'The manner of his death was very remarkable. There was a brave Anglo-Irish knight, named Sir John Maupas, who, with all the superstition of the age, had become strongly possessed with a belief that nothing but the death of Bruce himself would give security or peace to Ireland; he therefore resolved to sacrifice himself for the good of his country; and in the battle of Dundalk, heroically rushed to certain death for the purpose, according to his own belief, of ending this calamitous war. Undaunted by the certainty of his fate, he urged forward his steed through the ranks of the enemy; and where the body of Bruce was found, that of the self-devoted knight was stretched across it. A plain stone pillar, in the burial-place of Faughard, near Dundalk, marks the spot where the Scoto-Irish king, Edward Bruce, was interred; and if you should ever visit that part of Ireland, some peasant will be sure to point out his grave.

FROM

THE DEATH OF EDWARD BRUCE,

TO THE

ACCESSION OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.

1318 to 1485.

DURING the troubles that had been caused by the late wars, the Irish clergy had exerted themselves to the utmost to keep up the spirits of the people, and encourage them in their endeavours to liberate their country. I say the Irish

clergy, because you must understand that there was a great difference between the clergy of the native Irish and that of the Anglo-Irish; for, although both parties were at that time Catholics, they were as much at variance with each other as the English barons were with the Irish princes; and in most of the abbeys, a regulation was made not to admit any member of the other nation; so that an Englishman could no more be received as a monk into an Irish monastery, than an Irishman could into one belonging to the English; and thus, instead of any means being taken to promote a better understanding between the two people, even the clergy, by this mode of proceeding, assisted to keep up the feelings of animosity which had sprung up among them.

The authority of the king, in Ireland, had of late very much diminished; for almost the whole of the English possessions were in the hands of nine or ten barons, who were utterly regardless of any laws that had been made for the country, and ruled in their own domains with all the absolute power of despotic princes. The feudal system was now in full force among the Anglo-Irish. The barons had the right of holding courts of judicature in their own territories, and trying and punishing their vassals, even for capital offences,—that is, offences for which the punishment is death, and a similar right was then exercised by feudal lords in England, France, and Germany. Each baron had a strong castle, extensive domains, and numerous trains of vassals at his command; therefore, it is not likely he would pay more respect than suited him to the authority of a monarch who was at too great a distance to be able to enforce obedience.

In a country so ill-governed, there could not be much peace or good order. The nobles were continually at war with one another, and the natives were always in rebellion. Many of the landowners, too, whose estates were on the borders of the English pale, were absent in England, and

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neglected to protect their possessions by a military force, as they were required by the law; consequently, the natives made frequent inroads into the English territories, and committed dreadful devastations, often even setting fire to the churches when they were full of people; and as these buildings were then constructed of wood, they were very easily destroyed, and those who escaped from the flames, fell either by the sword or the spear.

The land of the knights and nobles was, at this time, as in England, occupied and cultivated by that class of men called villains, who were attached to the estate, and who held farms on condition of performing for their lords works in husbandry, furnishing them with poultry, eggs, or other provisions, and doing various other services, most of which have been commuted for money rents. Some of them were Englishmen, or Anglo-Irish, and some were natives of the country; but they were all subject to the same feudal laws and customs as the villains of England. Those who came over with the lords had, of course, brought with them the trades which they had pursued in their own country; therefore we may presume that many useful arts were, by this time, introduced into Ireland, and practised in those parts of the country that were under the dominion of the English. The Wild Irish, like the Scottish highlanders and the Welsh mountaineers, still retaining their native language, remained in their former rude state among the hills, their poverty increasing in proportion to the loss of their commerce, and the prosperity of those who dwelt within the English pale, for the latter were in possession of all the principal ports, and carried on a great trade; their chief exports to England being hides, cattle, and corn; for, notwithstanding the mischief done to the country by the late wars, corn was grown in such abundance, that, about four years after the death of Edward Bruce, the English king, being about to undertake a new expedition into Scotland,

sent an order to the governor of Ireland for nine thousand quarters of wheat for the supply of his army.

In the time of Edward the Third, some considerable manufactures of woollen stuffs were established in Ireland. Some of these stuffs were of such a fine fabric, that they were exported to Italy, and worn by the ladies of Florence. As Italy was at that time famous for the beauty of its own manufactures, the Irish stuffs must have been of a superior quality, or they would not have met with a market in Italy, nor have been patronized by the Italian ladies.

When Edward the Third came to the throne, he resolved to improve the condition of Ireland, and secure to himself a larger share of authority in that country. He therefore ordained that all officers appointed to conduct the government, should be men who possessed estates in England, and not those who held lands in Ireland; because, in case the former rebelled against his will, he could punish them by confiscating their property; but he knew very well it would be of little use to declare the Irish estates of the nobles forfeited, because they would refuse to give them up, and he could only force them to do so, by sending troops to Ireland, which would be both troublesome and expensive.

The barons, however, would not submit to this decree; which would have deprived them not only of the government, but also of many grants of lordships and manors that had been made by Edward the Second; they, therefore, called a general assembly, or parliament, to meet at Kilkenny. Now, although it had been ordained that parliaments should meet once a year, this decree, like many others, had been disregarded; but a parliament having been thus assembled, and the nobles having consulted together, they addressed a spirited petition to the king. Edward, however, was on the point of engaging in the war with France; and could therefore pay very little attention to the

petition, or indeed to the affairs of Ireland generally, which proceeded as before.

It happened about six years after the accession of Edward the Third, that the young earl of Ulster was murdered by some of his own retainers; and his widow, the lady Matilda, with her infant daughter, went to England; for she was averse to remaining in a country where her husband had met with so melancholy a fate. The government of England took possession of all her lands, castles, and tenements, in Ulster, giving her in exchange an equal portion in England. This became the inheritance of her daughter; who afterwards married one of the king's sons, Lionel, duke of Clarence, and he, in his wife's right, was created Earl of Ulster.

In the year 1361, this prince was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; and he went over to that country fully determined, if possible, to make such alterations in the laws as were necessary to secure its future peace and prosperity. But it is to be lamented that the jealousy between the two nations too often counteracted the measures proposed by their rulers for the benefit of the country; and when such measures in any degree succeeded, their effects were not felt far from those parts where the English authority prevailed. The absentees were again required to contribute for the defence of the borders, and among those who were thus taxed, were several ladies of high rank, as the countess of Norfolk, the countess of Pembroke, and others, who resided at the English court; and employed agents to collect the rents and dues of their tenants, and remit the amount to them in England. The army was raised, and went over to Ireland under the conduct of the duke of Clarence, and, in addition to the contributions of the laity for the support of this military force, the clergy also granted all their tithes for two years.

Whilst the duke of Clarence was governor of Ireland, a

famous parliament was held at Kilkenny, and an act passed which is known under the title of the statute of Kilkenny; but, before I speak of the substance of it, we must take some notice of the condition of the people at that period. Two hundred years had elapsed since the English first made a settlement in Ireland, and in that long period it may naturally be supposed, that, although the main bodies of the two nations had remained distinct from, and at enmity with, each other; there had been many intermarriages, and many friendships formed, from various causes, so that several families descended from the first English settlers, were now completely Irish, had adopted Irish names, or obtained them by matrimonial alliances; and not only spoke the Irish language, but also wore the dress of the country, and acknowledged the Brehon laws. There was also a custom, called fostering, that prevailed in Ireland to an extraordinary extent; and formed a tie between the natives and the English who mixed with them, that was held stronger and more sacred than the nearest relationship. It was this:—The children of the English, as soon as they were born, were sent to be nursed by native Irish women, who brought them up till they were of an age to return to their parents. Nothing could exceed the affection of these nurses for their foster children; they, as well as their husbands, loving them as their own offspring; and bestowing every care and attention upon them. The children of the nurses, and the nurslings, too, generally became warmly attached to each other; and more affection often existed between foster brothers, than between brothers by birth, although one might be the son of a lord, and the other of a poor peasant. The attachment often lasted till the latest period of their existence, and was a bond of union that was seldom broken.

This custom, and, indeed, every thing that tended to promote a friendly intercourse between the English and Irish,

was discountenanced by the English government; and the statute of Kilkenny was made for the express purpose of preventing the intermixture of the two nations. This celebrated act declared, that fostering, and intermarriages with the natives, should be considered high treason, and punished accordingly; and that any man of English descent, who should assume an Irish name, speak the Irish language, or adopt the laws, customs, or dress of the natives, should forfeit all his lands and tenements; or be imprisoned. The English were by its enactment even forbidden to entertain the Irish minstrels and bards, or to listen to their songs or tales; nor were they to allow the Irish to graze cattle on their land, nor to admit them into religious houses, nor to present them to any ecclesiastical benefices.

Although this famous statute of Kilkenny was principally intended to prevent the English and the descendants of the English settlers from intermarrying with, or adopting the manners and language of, the Irish people, it totally failed in that object, if it did not accelerate it; but it removed a grieved feudal oppression under which the English, and all who dwelt within the English pale, had hitherto been exposed.

For instance, there was a very burthensome tax, called Coyne and Livery, meaning food and lodging for soldiers and their horses, which all housekeepers, except the nobles and the clergy, were obliged to furnish without payment. By the new act, it was decreed, that soldiers should not be quartered in private houses against the will of the owners; and four inspectors were appointed in every county, to see that the lords and principal tenants contributed their proper share of men, horses, and armour, for the public service; for sometimes the wealthy nobles sent very few soldiers into the field, while their tenants or vassals were obliged to furnish more than their just share; so that it was necessary there should be proper officers to regulate this matter fairly.

Another part of the statute gave power to the sheriffs to search for criminals in some of the royal demesnes, that had been considered as sanctuary, and had become, in consequence, filled with bad characters, who did not scruple to violate the laws, because it was so easy to escape from justice.

During the whole reign of Edward the Third, and, indeed, through many succeeding reigns, the Irish government had in no way improved since the conquest; for although new laws had been frequently made, they had as frequently been broken; and the office of chief governor had become so difficult and dangerous, that no one liked to undertake it, except such as did so with a view of bettering their own fortunes; whilst others looked upon it as entailing a kind of honourable banishment upon them. The natives had, by this time, recovered a great deal of the country; and, stimulated by their priests, they opposed all taxes levied on them by the English government, so that warfare was perpetually going on.

The next English sovereign who visited Ireland, was Richard the Second. He took over with him a large army, that he might be prepared to act in case of opposition; but the chiefs made their submission without the least difficulty; laying aside their girdles, and falling on their knees at his feet. It is remarkable that these native princes, notwithstanding their hatred of the English, and their love of warfare, were always ready, and even eager, to submit to the sovereign whenever he made his appearance among them, so great was their veneration for royalty. The chiefs who thus did homage to Richard the Second were seventy-five in number. They agreed to surrender all their lands, and to serve in his wars against all the Irish who did not acknowledge his authority; and, in return, they were to receive pensions for their lives, and all the lands they could take from rebel chiefs in other parts of the country.

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Richard was pleased with the ready obedience of his Irish vassals, and wished, as a mark of his approbation, to bestow on the four Irish kings the dignity of knighthood; which was esteemed a great honour in the days of chivalry. But they were not willing to accept this favour; saying they were knights already, as it was the custom for every Irish king to knight his sons at a very early age, and some of them had been admitted to the distinction of knighthood when they were only seven years old. The English nobles could not help smiling when they heard that those barbarous chiefs claimed for themselves, at seven years of age, an honour which it cost an Englishman or a Norman so many years of manhood and hard service to obtain; and they were curious to know in what manner such very youthful candidates prepared themselves for knighthood. The mode, as they described it, was simple enough; the candidates had merely to run with small spears at a shield set up in a meadow, and try which could break the greatest number.

These rude chieftains were so attached to their own customs, that it was with great difficulty they could be persuaded to suffer the king to make knights of them according to the usages of chivalry; but they consented at last, and kept watch by their armour all night in a church, which was one of the requisite preliminaries. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Dublin; and was followed by a banquet, at which the new knights attended, in robes of state, and sat at the same table with King Richard; but here again there had been a great deal of persuasion used before they could be induced to exchange their coarse woollen mantles for more courtly apparel, or sit down at table without their own servants and minstrels. At length, at the request of the duke of Ormond, who spoke their language, and was much esteemed by them, they put on robes of silk, trimmed with fur, and took their appointed places at the banquet.

As long as Richard remained in Ireland, affairs proceeded

well; but no sooner had he gone, than the Irish chiefs renewed the wars, and were as unruly as ever. The government was at this time in the hands of Roger, earl of March, whose father had married Philippa, the daughter of the duke of Clarence, and on the death of the duke, had succeeded to the earldom of Ulster, in right of his wife. The earls of March, therefore, were earls of Ulster also, and were governors of Ireland for a long time.

It happened, in the rebellions that followed the departure of Richard the Second from Ireland, that Roger, earl of March, the son of Philippa, and the grandfather of that Richard, duke of York, who commenced the War of the Roses in England, was murdered by the Irish; wherefore, to avenge his death, and punish the rebellious chiefs, the king went over to Ireland again, about five years after his first expedition.

He took with him this time a larger army than before, and the Irish, as usual, retreated to their bogs and mountains, where they were quite safe from pursuit; as the English did not know enough of the country to venture into the wild parts of it. In these haunts the Irish remained, sheltering themselves in caves or mud cabins, and feeding on their cattle and the wild herbage that grew around them, with no better beds than what their woollen mantles and the bare ground afforded them. This, however, was a kind of life to which the Irish were accustomed; therefore, when the king found they would not come out to give him battle, he determined to hunt them from their native wilds, and ordered his men to set fire to the deserted villages, and cut a passage through the forests. The order was obeyed; but the soldiers, not knowing the ground upon which they were venturing, sank up to their knees in the bogs; while the Irish, who knew very well where there was safe footing, hovered around, hurling their darts with unerring aim, amidst the loud cries with which they always accompanied an attack on

their enemies. This kind of warfare was very destructive to the English; and the more so, as their provisions began to fail. At one time, they were so distressed by hunger, that when news came that three vessels had arrived from England with supplies, the impatience of the soldiers was so great, that they threw themselves into the sea to swim to the ships; and as they reached them, fought with each other, in their eagerness to obtain the food.

At last, most of the chiefs offered to submit, on condition of receiving a free pardon, which was granted; and they went before the king, to do homage and promise obedience, as they had so often done before. There was one, however, who refused to appear with the rest, declaring that all the gold in the world would not tempt him to own himself the vassal of an English king; but that he was resolved to continue the war, and do all the injury in his power to his enemies. This chief was Mac Murrough, a descendant of Dermot Mac Murrough, that faithless king of Leinster who betrayed his country to Henry the Second, and assisted the valiant earl Strongbow to conquer it; but the present heir of the royal race of Leinster had no disposition to follow the example of his unworthy ancestor; although, after a time, he sent word to the king, that he was willing to make peace, if they could agree on the terms. The English were glad to hear that Mac Murrough was likely to cease hostilities, for they were heartily tired of the war, and he had throughout been the most formidable of their foes. Richard himself was not sorry to see some prospect of peace; and sent the earl of Gloucester to hold a conference with Mac Murrough on the subject.

The interview was very singular; and may serve to give you an idea of the manner in which the Irish chieftains conducted their negotiations. The meeting was to take place on the margin of a little brook; and thither the earl of Gloucester repaired, with a strong guard, and as he ad-

vanced towards the rendezvous, he saw the chieftain descending from a mountain, followed by an immense concourse of people. He was a tall, powerful man, of fierce aspect, dressed in the large saffron coloured shirt of the country, and mounted on a fine horse without any saddle. This horse, it was said, cost him four hundred cows; for horses were highly valued in Ireland; and so much care was taken of them, that when bread-corn was scarce, it was saved for the horses, while the people were content to eat oatmeal and herbs. Mac Murrough carried in his hand a long spear, which he threw from him as he advanced alone to meet the English earl, his crowd of followers remaining behind.

The conference lasted a long time; but as the haughty chief refused to comply with any of the terms proposed to him, the earl was obliged to return to his royal master with very unsatisfactory intelligence, while Mac Murrough repaired to his woods with feelings as hostile as before the interview. The king was highly enraged at the obstinacy of Mac Murrough, declaring that he would never leave Ireland till the rebel chief was in his power. The unfortunate monarch little thought, at the moment he said this, of the calamities which were hanging over his own head, and that he himself would soon be a prisoner. In this angry mood, he proceeded to Dublin, where he fixed his head quarters; and issued a proclamation, that whoever should deliver Mac Murrough into his hands, alive or dead, should be rewarded with a hundred marks in gold. Just at this time, however, the king received intelligence that his cousin, Henry, duke of Lancaster, whom he had banished from England, had returned, and was in arms against him at the head of a powerful faction. This alarming news obliged him to leave Ireland without delay; and he was soon afterwards made a prisoner, and deposed, while the duke of Lancaster ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Henry the Fourth.

During the reign of this monarch, the governors of Ireland found it necessary, in order to keep peace, to withdraw the chief restrictions that had been imposed on the natives by the statute of Kilkenny. They were again permitted to go to the markets in the English territories, to take children to nurse, to intermarry with the English, and to become tenants on their lands; but even these privileges did not induce them to regard their rulers with more kindly feelings; for they knew it was fear alone that had caused them to be more indulgent. The native Irish, therefore, from the hills, still continued to invade the Pale; and the English were at this period so little able to resist them, that they were driven to the necessity of granting annual pensions, called Black Rent, to some of the chiefs, to keep them quiet.

The whole time that Henry the Fourth reigned in England, the greatest confusion prevailed in every part of Ireland. The northern districts were frequently invaded by the Scots, for the sake of plunder; the Irish were watching every opportunity of recovering their lands, and lessening the power and possessions of the English; while the English themselves were shamefully oppressed by the misconduct of their own governors, whose chief object in going to Ireland seemed to be, to rob those who had acquired property in that country.

Noblemen, gentlemen, and churchmen, were frequently imprisoned, by order of those governors, on the most frivolous pretences, and their estates seized; and oppressive taxes were frequently levied, both on the English and the Irish. Several petitions were addressed to the king, begging that he would come over to make some regulations for the better government of Ireland; but he never found leisure to do so, and concerned himself so little about Irish affairs, that the English power in the country was considerably diminished during his reign; and so much of the land was

won back by the natives, that the English pale was reduced to a very small compass, which remained nearly in the same condition till Henry the Seventh ascended the English throne.

The best governor during this period, was Richard, duke of York, nephew and heir to the last earl of March, and father of Edward the Fourth, king of England. This amiable nobleman owned estates in Ireland that comprehended nearly one-third of the kingdom, for he was earl of Ulster, lord of Meath, of Connaught, and Clare, besides being earl of Cork; but with all these lands and titles, his revenues were but small; for most of the territories I have mentioned were in the possession of the natives, who would pay no rent to English landlords, unless it was extorted from them by force of arms, a proceeding to which the good duke was averse.

He thought the Irish had not been justly treated, and, perhaps, felt that they had more right to the land than he had; wherefore, instead of going to war for his rents, he wrote to England, to beg that his pay as chief governor might be sent to him more regularly than it had been, as he was much distressed for money, but would rather live meanly, and go without fitting garments, than increase the misery of the natives, by taking away their cattle for the payment of rent.

Circumstances, however, recalled the duke into England, where he appeared as a claimant for the throne, in opposition to Henry the Sixth, who was then reigning; and this was the commencement of the unhappy wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. Great numbers of Irish troops went over to the assistance of their late governor; being anxious, no doubt, to see on the English throne a prince who had shown himself a true friend to Ireland. But their hopes were disappointed by the death of the duke, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield. His son, Edward,

arried on the civil wars in England, and eventually obtained the crown; but the Irish did not rejoice in his success, as he was not possessed of those good qualities that had endeared his father to a large body of the people, both in England and Ireland.

In the meantime, many of the English settlers, probably in consequence of the tyranny of those who were in power, had gone to live among the natives, had adopted their customs, and married among them; so that a new race of Irish was springing up, in their children; who were as much attached to the land of their birth, and as much the enemies of the English, as were the rude descendants of the ancient Milesians. The intermixture of the two nations was now carried on to a greater extent than it had ever been before and, what was very singular, the more civilized race adopted the language, dress, habits, and laws, of the barbarians, instead of teaching them the arts of civilization, which would seem to have been the more natural course.

At this time, (I am speaking of the reign of Edward the Fourth,) the English Pale consisted of only four counties, Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath; and in no other part of Ireland was the English law acknowledged or obeyed. This may be accounted for, by considering that a great many of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale had accompanied the duke of York to England; which had left the English territories open to the attacks of the Irish chiefs, who never failed to take advantage of any circumstances that afforded them an opportunity of regaining any portion of the lands which they considered as their just inheritance.

The English who dwelt on the borders were in a most unfortunate situation, and obliged to pay very large sums of money to preserve their estates from being ruined by their assailants. Every chief was paid according to his power of doing mischief; so that the O'Niels, the O'Connors, and

other heads of the great septs, received large incomes as the price of their forbearance.

You will, perhaps, wonder why they did not endeavour to drive the English quite out of the country; but the Irish were still divided into many different septs, all jealous of each other, and some at open warfare; therefore they never cordially united for the same object. The quarrels of many of the chiefs were hereditary; that is, the sons were enemies, because their fathers had been so: and thus their hatred descended from generation to generation, and was imbibed by their respective clans, the lowest members of which regarded each other with the same spirit of hostility that animated the chieftains, whose names they bore: and to this day, the same system of clanship exists among the native Irish; so that you will sometimes find, in the west of Ireland, the people of a county, who bear one name universally among themselves, ready at any time to quarrel and fight with those of some other name, equally universal, merely because the two families were at variance in ancient times.

When Edward the Fourth came to the throne, he appointed to the government of Ireland his brother, that unfortunate Duke of Clarence who was afterwards imprisoned in the tower, and died in a mysterious manner, either by falling into, or being forced into, a butt of Malmsey wine. The earl of Desmond, an Anglo-Irish lord, who held great estates in Munster, was appointed deputy governor. A parliament was now summoned, and new laws were enacted, for the better defence of the inhabitants who dwelt within the English Pale. It was ordained that all Irish families residing within its limits, should wear the English dress, take English names, and swear allegiance to the king, or else they were to forfeit all their property. Every Englishman, and every Irishman who spoke English, was to furnish himself with a good bow and arrows, or be fined two-pence;

and it was either in this or in a preceding parliament, that an act was passed, to oblige all men living under the English laws, to shave the upper lip; because it was the custom of the Irish to let their hair grow on the upper, and shave the under lip; and this law continued in force till the time of Charles the First.

The bows and arrows were brought to Ireland by English merchants trading to Dublin, Waterford, and other seaports; who were obliged to bring twenty shillings' worth of these weapons for every twenty pounds worth of other goods.

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

1485 to 1509.

THE War of the Roses was at an end, and Henry the Seventh, was peaceably settled on the throne of England; but the people of Ireland, who had from the beginning of the dispute supported the cause of the House of York, were not pleased with the result of the war, for they looked upon the new monarch as belonging to the house of Lancaster; and, notwithstanding his marriage with the grand-daughter of their favourite duke, Richard, of York, they were very much inclined to dispute his title to the throne. When I say the people of Ireland, I mean all the inhabitants, English as well as Irish, living under the English government.

All readers of English history are acquainted with the adventures of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, two young men who were brought forward, at different periods of the reign of Henry the Seventh, as claimants for the crown. The former personated the young Earl of Warwick,

who was the nephew of Edward the Fourth, and considered by all the partizans of the house of York as the true heir to the throne of England. This unhappy prince had been a prisoner in the Tower of London for many years, and most people had forgotten his existence, when Lambert Simnel, was brought to Dublin by a priest, who gave out that the youth was no other than the injured earl of Warwick, who, he said, had just made his escape from the Tower.

The Irish were very ready to believe this tale, because they wanted an excuse for making an attempt to dethrone the king: therefore, the earl of Kildare, with all the principal nobles and gentry of the Pale, and the greater part of the Irish clergy, received Lambert Simnel, who was only the son of a baker, as their rightful sovereign, and proclaimed him king of England, and lord of Ireland.

The youth was graceful and handsome, and had been so well instructed in the part he was to play, that many persons were really deceived; and although the king took Warwick from the Tower, and made him ride about in public, that people might see he was in London, and not in Ireland, still the Irish persisted in their belief, saying that the king had exhibited some other lad to the populace of London, but that their lad, as they called him, was certainly the son of their late governor, the duke of Clarence. Indeed, so fully persuaded were they of this being the fact, that Simnel was solemnly crowned in Dublin cathedral by the bishop of Meath; and then carried in triumph to the castle, on the shoulders of a gigantic man, who, on account of his enormous stature, was called Great Darcy. The nobles paid homage to the king they had set up, and made immediate preparations for invading England, with all the troops of the Pale, a vast multitude of wild Irish, and some German soldiers who had been sent to their assistance by the duchess of Burgundy, a sister of Edward the Fourth, who was supposed to be the contriver of the plot. The

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most lamentable part of this expedition was the fate of the poor Irish troops, who were not accustomed to wear armour, like the English troops; but, on the contrary, used to throw off the greater part of their clothing in battle, so that they were easily cut in pieces by the well disciplined, steel-clad English soldiers; and few of them ever saw their native country again.

The king, who rather wished to be on friendly terms with the Irish nobles than to punish them for their rebellion, sent over Sir Richard Edgecomb, with a free pardon to all who had been concerned in it, and with authority to receive their oaths of allegiance for him. When Sir Richard arrived at Dublin, he found the mayor and citizens waiting to receive him at the abbey gate of the Preaching Friars, where he was to be lodged and entertained during his stay; and there he had an interview with the earl of Kildare, to whom he presented the king's letters containing his pardon, and hung round his neck a chain of gold, which Henry had sent him. The earl and the rest of the nobles then did homage, and they all went into the cathedral, accompanied by the archbishop of Dublin, the bishops, and the priests, and *Te Deum* was sung to the solemn strains of the organ; after which, the bells of the churches were rung, and Sir Richard invited the nobles and prelates to partake of a feast in the great hall of the Preaching Friars; and so ended this first conspiracy against Henry the Seventh.

Some time afterwards, the king issued his royal mandate, that all the Irish lords should repair to England, that he might receive in person their homage and oaths of fealty. They obeyed the summons, and visited the king at his palace at Greenwich, where they were entertained with great splendour. But imagine their surprise and mortification, at seeing Simnel, before whom they had knelt as their sovereign lord, waiting upon them at dinner among the rest of the servants: for Henry, who had not thought it re-

quisite to punish so insignificant a person, had given orders that he should be employed in the kitchens of the palace; and he thought it would be a good plan that might make the Irish nobles ashamed of their folly, to let them see, in his proper station, the young man on whose brows they had so lately placed a crown; and no doubt they looked much disconcerted on the occasion.

While these events were passing at the court of England, the native clans in Ireland were carrying on furious wars among themselves. They were even then as far removed from civilization as ever, living in wattled huts of the rudest description, while their lands, in many parts, were common to all. The earth was only cultivated in small patches, and the people had no fixed dwellings, but moved about from place to place with their herds, like the wandering Arabs; building up their hovels, which they could do in two or three hours, wherever they found most grass, wood, and water; and when their cattle had eaten all the grass, they would again set out in search of fresh pasture. They usually slept on the bare ground, wrapped up in coarse woollen mantles, which were worn both by men and women; and their food consisted of wild herbage of various kinds, milk, bread cakes made of oatmeal, and baked meats.

After the visit of the lords of the Pale to King Henry, at Greenwich, the English government discovered there was another conspiracy forming against the crown; and as there was some reason to believe that the earl of Kildare was concerned in it, he was suddenly dismissed from his high office of lord lieutenant of Ireland. The earl, in revenge, secretly aided O'Niel, O'Donnell, and some other Wild Irish chieftains, to capture the cattle, burn the dwellings, and lay waste the lands of the people occupying the borders of the English Pale.

About this time, Perkin Warbeck, another pretender to

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the English crown, came from abroad, and landed at Cork; where he announced himself as Richard, duke of York, one of the princes generally believed to have been murdered in the Tower, by order of Richard the Third. A merchant of Cork, named John Water, who had lately been mayor of that city, warmly espoused the cause of this second pretender, and persuaded the citizens to join him. Perkin, however, did not remain long in Ireland; for the king of France sent to invite him to his court, whither he immediately proceeded.

I may here observe, that, when the duke of York was governor of Ireland, he made a law, that Ireland should be a sanctuary for foreigners; so that any person, having offended against the law in England, Scotland, or Wales, might place himself under Irish protection. His motive was that those who supported him in his claim to the sovereignty of England, might be able, in case of any emergency, to fly for refuge to Ireland; but it was a dangerous law, because it encouraged treason, and crimes of all sorts, by affording shelter to traitors and criminals.

King Henry, therefore, after having displaced the earl of Kildare, sent over a gentleman, named Sir Edward Poynings, to make several alterations that he thought necessary; and, among them, to repeal this pernicious law of sanctuary. I call it a pernicious law, because it cannot be thought right that criminals should be screened from justice. There is a wide difference between protecting a man from oppression, and shielding him from the punishment due to his crimes; but by this law of sanctuary, there was no distinction observed between crime and misfortune; so that a robber or a murderer found the same protection as one who had committed no real crime, but was persecuted either for his religious or political opinions. Sir Edward Poynings, however, came to Ireland to repeal this law; and he also decreed that no acts should be passed by any future parlia-

ment in Ireland, until they had received the consent of the English legislature. This was called Poynings' law; and a very important one it was, since it took from the legislators of Ireland the privilege they had hitherto enjoyed, of making laws for that country, independent of England. Sir Edward Poynings also revived the statutes of Kilkenny, before spoken of as having been made with a view to prevent too intimate an intercourse between the English and the Irish; but he left out that clause which prohibited the use of the Irish language; which was now universally spoken, except in Dublin and its immediate vicinity.

But the Anglo-Irish were forbidden to use the war-cries of the Wild Irish; who all had cries peculiar to their respective clans; and those cries had been very generally adopted by the new race of Irish people, who, from being frequently called out in arms to defend their possessions, and to preserve their cattle from the sudden forays of different clans, were now almost as wild as the Irish themselves. Some of the great lords had so completely identified themselves with the original Irish, by wearing the dress, speaking the language, and living according to the customs of the country, that they were regarded as though they had been kings of the ancient race.

The earls of Desmond were among this number. They had lived, for some generations, entirely on their princely domains in Munster, surrounded by the native septs, making wars upon, and treaties with, the chiefs of different clans, at pleasure, and keeping up the rude grandeur of the Irish monarchs of former days. I mention this particular family, because the lords of Desmond were noted for their rebellions in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a portion of their confiscated lands was given to Sir Walter Raleigh; who is said to have been the first who planted potatoes in their country.

While Sir Edward Poynings was making laws by the

authority of the king, with a view to lessen the power of the lords of the Pale, he had also caused the earl of Kildare to be arrested, and sent as a prisoner to England. This had such an effect upon the earl's wife, that she died of grief; expecting, no doubt, that he would lose his head; but he was not only pardoned, but restored to all his dignities, to the great surprise of every one.

It is said, he owed his escape to his ready wit in making answers which pleased the king. Thus, when Henry said, he would advise him to choose good counsel, as his case was a serious one, the earl replied boldly, "I will choose the best counsel in England, may it please Your Grace." "And who is that?" said the king. "Why, the king himself," said the earl; at which the king laughed; and although Kildare was tried for the sake of form, he was acquitted, and re-appointed to the government of Ireland.

From that time, he was a loyal subject, and carried on a perpetual warfare against the Irish chiefs, from whom he took several castles, and fortified places. But the castles of the Irish chiefs were not like those of England. They were generally nothing more than four high walls thatched with straw, with small loop holes for windows; and possessed scarcely any furniture, save the rushes which strewed the floor, and the green boughs that were suspended, by way of ornament, from the rough beams of the ceiling.

In the year 1497, Perkin Warbeck again appeared in Ireland, with his beautiful bride, whom he had married at the court of Scotland; and he was joined by the earl of Desmond, who helped him to besiege Waterford, but without success. The remainder of his unhappy career, and his ultimate fate, must be sought in the history of England. The earl of Desmond was pardoned by the king for the assistance he had given him; but the poor mayor of Cork, Warbeck's first friend in Ireland, was executed with him.

REBELLION OF THE EARLS OF KILDARE.

1509 to 1558.

At the time that Henry the Eighth ascended the English throne, the earl of Kildare was still governor of Ireland. At his death, his son succeeded to his high office, and continued to carry on wars with the natives, but Cardinal Wolsey, not thinking it good policy to suffer an Irishman so devoted to fighting, to be the ruler of Ireland, appointed another governor, and sent for the young earl to England, where he married Lady Elizabeth Gray, who was nearly related to the king; and he accompanied the monarch to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. However, in 1530, he returned to Ireland, and was received with great joy in Dublin, where he was very popular. He resumed the government of the English Pale, which, at this time, had become considerably reduced in size; at least, it was only within a small space to what it had formerly been, that the English laws were obeyed, the language spoken, the dress worn, or the customs followed.

The earl of Kildare had allied himself with the most powerful of the Irish chieftains, O'Connor and O'Carroll, by giving them his daughters in marriage, although they were both enemies to the king and the English government. The earl was therefore summoned to England, to answer for his misconduct; and he went thither very reluctantly, leaving his son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a young man not much more than twenty years of age, to conduct the government in his absence. This, in the present state of the country, was a very arduous task, and far beyond the ability of so young a man; particularly as his father, owing to his alliance with the great Irish chiefs, had many enemies, who

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were only watching an opportunity to involve his whole family in ruin.

I will now endeavour to give you an idea of the state of the country at this time; and then you will perceive how impossible it was for so young a man as Lord Thomas Fitzgerald to preserve any degree of order. There were several Anglo-Irish noblemen who possessed very extensive domains; where they ruled like absolute princes, caring very little for the laws made by the English government, and connected by ties of relationship with the greatest chieftains of the country. These nobles, who exacted rents or feudal services from their tenants, would pay nothing for their lands to the king, and frequently gave asylum to offenders against the laws; nor did any magistrate dare to seize any of their tenants, or their retainers, however guilty, without their express permission.

A great deal of the land belonging to them was let out to small farmers, chiefly Irish; and these unruly lords took advantage of an old Irish custom, called Coshery, by which the kings in ancient times were privileged to go round among their tenants with a troop of horsemen and servants of various descriptions, and oblige the poor farmers to find them in meat, drink, and lodging; every tenant being compelled to entertain the whole retinue for two days and two nights.

The train usually consisted of a number of Irish soldiers, called kerns, and a disorderly set of men, called horse-boys, whose business was to take care of the horses; for there were no inns in Ireland then, and these men, protected as they were by their masters badge or livery, committed all sorts of depredations wherever they went, with perfect impunity. Nor were the farmers only subjected to this annoyance, but the monasteries and the gentlemen's houses in the counties over which the dominion of these lords extended, were equally obliged to open their gates to the unwelcome

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visitors. Nearly the whole of Munster, and great part of Leinster, belonged to such nobles as these, who lived half the year at the expense of their tenants, in the manner before described.

A great part of Ulster was occupied by the Scots; who, at different periods, had made conquests and settlements in that province; and Connaught, with the rest of Ulster, was possessed by the Wild Irish, whose chiefs extorted black mail, or tribute, from the English; into whose territories they had easy access, by a bridge which the chiefs of the O'Briens had built across the Shannon. An account of the disorderly state of the whole country was sent to the king; and it was also stated that the evils complained of arose as much from the arbitrary conduct of the Anglo-Irish, and their wars with each other, as from the foraging excursions and rebellions of the Irish chieftains themselves.

The earl of Kildare was still a prisoner in England, and his son, as before stated, was surrounded by enemies, who wished to see the downfall of a family whose influence and immense possessions in Ireland had excited their envy and ill-will. The easiest way of accomplishing the ruin of Lord Thomas was to provoke him to rebellion; they were therefore, wicked enough to spread a report that his father had been beheaded, and that orders had been given to arrest him and others of his family for treason.

The unsuspecting young man, not doubting the truth of the story, was transported with grief and rage, and arming his vassals, he rode through Dublin at the head of them, till he reached St. Mary's abbey, where the council of state was assembled. He entered the hall, where he gave up the sword of office, which was always carried before the governor, and solemnly renounced his allegiance to the king.

Those who had invented the tale of his father's death were delighted at its success; but the lord chancellor, with tears in his eyes, begged Lord Thomas Fitzgerald to con-

sider well, before he decided on taking so rash a step; and the remonstrance might have had some effect, had not an Irish bard just at this critical moment struck the chords of his harp, and begun in loud strains to sing the praises of the earls of Kildare, passionately calling on the young lord to revenge his father's shameful death. The excited youth listened for awhile; then, throwing away his sword of office, he rushed forth at the head of his wild followers, to wage war against a government of which he had till this moment been at the head.

The first measure of the council was to send an order to the mayor of Dublin to arrest Lord Thomas Fitzgerald. But the plague was at that time raging so dreadfully in Dublin, and had so depopulated the city, that there was not a sufficient force to act against so large a body of rebels as Fitzgerald had collected around him; the order, therefore, could not be obeyed, but the gates of the town were shut against them. Lord Thomas, being anxious to get possession of Dublin-castle, sent a proposal to the citizens, that if they would allow him to enter the place, and lay siege to the castle, he would not suffer any injury to be done either to themselves or their property. They consented to this proposition; for they were so weakened by the pestilence, that they were not in a condition to make much resistance, and thought it would be more prudent to let the rebels enter on those terms, than to attempt to oppose hem with an inefficient force.

The castle was at this time occupied by the archbishop of Dublin; who was so terrified at the prospect of a siege, that he tried to make his escape to England, by means of a vessel that was lying close under the castle walls. He went on board in the middle of the night, and set sail; but, unfortunately, the ship was stranded near Clontarf, and the reverend prelate taken prisoner, at a little village to which he had fled for safety. He was instantly put to death by

order of Lord Thomas, who stood by to see this barbarous command executed.

After this cruel murder, part of the rebel army was left to besiege the castle; while Fitzgerald led the rest to invade the domains of the earl of Ossory, in Kilkenny: but, at the same time, he sent word to that nobleman, that if he would enter into an alliance with him, and help him to conquer the country, he was willing to agree that it should be divided between them. The earl, however, would not listen to this proposal; returning for answer, that nothing would ever tempt him to become a traitor to his king. He was already preparing to defend his estates, when Lord Thomas found himself obliged to march back to Dublin, having received intelligence that the citizens had withdrawn their permission for the siege of the castle, had closed their gates, and seized all the rebels within the walls of the city.

This news was quite true. The gates were shut, and the walls so defended, that there was no possibility of effecting an entrance. Then some among the rebel forces, who began to wish themselves in a safer position, wrote letters giving information of the designs of the besiegers, and affixing them to headless arrows, shot them over the walls into the city; by which, the citizens learning that there was not much to be feared from the troops without, resolved to come out and try to disperse them. First, however, in order to alarm the rebels, they sent some soldiers to proclaim from the top of the walls, that succours had arrived from England; and immediately throwing open the gates, they rushed forth, while the besiegers, thinking they were beset by an English army, fled on all sides in the utmost dismay.

Fitzgerald hid himself all night in a friary, and escaped at day-break to his camp. He then sent to the mayor of Dublin, to propose terms of peace; but they could not agree on the conditions, for Lord Thomas had carried off, and still detained, a number of children who had been removed

from Dublin to a village at some distance, on account of the plague: and he would not restore them until he was assured of the king's pardon; therefore the people of Dublin, who were sadly distressed about their children, would not release Fitzgerald's soldiers, whom they had made prisoners.

The old earl of Kildare was now really dead, having died in the Tower of London; for the conduct of his son had broken his heart. The rebellion might, at this time, be termed a civil war; for all the country had joined in it, and a terrible war it was; for, in many instances, the nearest relatives took different sides; and thus, while the great chief, O'Brien, was fighting under the banner of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, his eldest son, who had joined Lord Ossory, was opposed to him in the field of battle. All the northern chiefs took the part of the king; but the principal object of most of those who were engaged in the strife was plunder; and if we consider that, in addition to the horrors of civil war, the pestilence was still raging, not only in Dublin, but more or less throughout all Ireland, we may form some idea of the wretched state of the people.

At length, Lord Thomas was obliged to surrender himself, and was sent prisoner to England; about six months having elapsed from the day on which he indignantly surrendered the sword of state. The defeat of this misguided young man was owing to the new governor, Lord Leonard Gray; who also made prisoners of Fitzgerald's five uncles, all of whom had been deeply concerned in the rebellion; and although they had been induced to submit, by a promise of pardon, they were, in violation of that promise, executed in London, with their ill-fated nephew, in 1535.

Lord Thomas left two younger brothers, Gerald, about twelve years of age, who was now heir to the earldom of Kildare, and Edward, who was rather younger. Diligent search was made for these poor boys; but Gerald was con-

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cealed in the country by O'Brien, the lord of Thomond; and Edward was conveyed to his mother, in Leicestershire.

Some time afterwards, Gerald was placed under the care of his aunt, Lady Eleanor of Desmond, widow of the chief of south Munster; who was about to marry the great chief, O'Donnel, in the hope that he would be a friend to her outlawed nephew. O'Donnel's territories were in the north, where there was also another powerful chieftain, O'Niel, a descendant of the ancient Irish monarchs, and a kinsman of the young Gerald, who was now styled by his friends, earl of Kildare. Gerald accompanied the bridal party in their journey through Ireland, from Desmond to O'Donnel's mansion in Tyrconnel, at present the county of Donegal, in Ulster.

A large party was assembled to celebrate the nuptials; and, among others who were present, was O'Niel, who together with the bridegroom, swore to protect the rights of the youthful earl of Kildare, and endeavour to restore him to his father's estates.

O'Niel, it is said, entertained still more ambitious designs, than those of merely winning back for Gerald his confiscated inheritance; he meditated the restoration of the ancient monarchy of Ireland; and already, in fancy, beheld himself seated on the throne of his ancestors. But before the plot in favour of the youthful Kildare was ripe for execution, it was discovered; and the lord lieutenant, Lord Leonard Gray, the same who had captured Fitzgerald and his five uncles, was now beheaded, on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy.

As it was no longer safe to keep poor Gerald in the country, he was confided to the care of some monks; who dressed him in a saffron shirt, like those worn by the Wild Irish; and, in that disguise, got him safely on board a vessel, which conveyed him to France. Thence he passed into Italy, and was most kindly received, and carefully

educated, by Cardinal Pole, who was related to his mother. It was generally believed in Italy, that he was the true heir to the kingdom of Ireland, and had been defrauded of his right by Henry the Eighth; and great was the interest he excited, in consequence of this supposition. However, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was recalled to England; and when Queen Mary came to the throne, she restored to him the estates and titles of his ancestors.

His sister, Margaret Fitzgerald, was married to the earl of Ormond, in whose magnificent castle at Kilkenny she resided. This noble and amiable couple endeavoured to enrich the city of Kilkenny, which was already a place of considerable trade; by introducing manufactures into it; and with this laudable view, they brought from Flanders a number of artificers, whom they employed, at their own cost, in making carpets, cushions, and a variety of other handsome articles of household furniture, which remained in the Ormond family for many years; but the times were unsettled, and the nation was not sufficiently civilized to patronize works of art and taste; therefore the scheme of establishing permanent manufactories in Ireland was abandoned.

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

It was about the time of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion, that Henry the Eighth was engaged in making that great and important change in the religion of the church of England, which we call the Reformation. He was very desirous of destroying the authority of the Pope in Ireland, and of establishing there the Protestant instead of the Catholic religion: and with this view he had, just before the breaking out of the rebellion, granted to the earl of Ossory, the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, on con-

dition that he should do all in his power to forward the reformed faith. The civil war had, for the time it lasted, suspended the progress of all other affairs; but as soon as it was over, the king again turned his attention towards the religion of Ireland, and the archbishop of Dublin was the first to declare in favour of Protestantism, and advise the calling of a parliament to enforce it. The parliament met in Dublin, and passed an act ordaining that all first fruits, that is, the first year's profits of all benefices, and all other dues, which had hitherto been paid to the Pope, should in future be paid to the king, who had assumed the title of Head of the Church.

Soon after this, Henry the Eighth sent over commissioners to suppress some of the monasteries, as he had suppressed them in England. Subsequently, they were all shut up, and the monks and nuns belonging to them expelled, whilst the lands were granted or given away to nobles and their dependents, just as lavishly as the lands belonging to the monasteries had been in England.

I need not tell you what a sad thing this was for the lower classes of people, who in a country so poor as Ireland, could find but little employment. As long as there were monastic establishments, the hungry had only to go to the abbey gates, and they were fed; but when the religious houses were shut up and deserted, many poor creatures died from want, because there were none to give them bread. The tenants on church and abbey lands had in Ireland, as in England and other countries, held their tenures at much lower rents, and had been more lightly taxed for feudal services, than the tenants of the nobles and chiefs; it was, therefore, a serious misfortune to them that these lands should be taken away from those under whom they had lived so comfortably, to be given to men who exacted the utmost amount of rent, and gave in charity none of the money they had extorted from them.

Notwithstanding the suppression of the monasteries, the Protestant religion was never established in Ireland, where the monastic orders still existed, although their houses and lands had been taken from them; and, to this day, the majority of the people are Catholics; but it is a pleasure to be able to state that persons were not executed nor burnt to death on account of their religious opinions, as they were in England. The most severe punishment inflicted on those who openly upheld the authority of the Pope, or disputed the king's title to supremacy in the church, was imprisonment for a time in Dublin castle.

Henry the Eighth, although a great tyrant, was a shrewd and clever man, and he saw that no peace could be expected in Ireland, while so many chieftains were hostile to the government; he, therefore, sought to make them his friends, by bestowing on them new dignities, and thus gratifying their pride, while he brought them more under subjection to the royal authority. The Irish chiefs had been taught to believe that the Pope was the real sovereign of Ireland, and that the kings of England only held it in vassalage under him. It had now become necessary to undeceive them on this point, since Henry had assumed the Pope's place as head of the church in his own dominions; he therefore determined to make Ireland a kingdom instead of a lordship, and to take upon himself the title of King. Having made his intention known to the parliament of the Pale, an act was passed to that effect without the least opposition; for Henry had taken care to guard against any impediments to his measures, by excluding the inferior part of the clergy and chiefs from the parliament altogether, so that it only consisted of those who were subservient to his wishes.

It was in the year 1541, that Henry the Eighth was declared king of Ireland, and the day on which the bill was passed, was celebrated with great rejoicings in Dublin. All the noblemen and gentry went in state to St. Patrick's

church; grand entertainments were given by the rich, bonfires were made by the poor, who were also feasted in the streets, and a general pardon was granted to prisoners in the city. The Irish chiefs were then invited to go to London, that the king might bestow on them such favours as he might think fitting; and as this was the origin of a considerable part of the Irish peerage, it will not be amiss to describe these new peers of Ireland.

The first candidate for distinction was the great O'Donnel, the uncle of the outlawed earl of Kildare. I mention him first, because he made a more splendid appearance than the rest, for while some of them had scarcely a garment to cover them, O'Donnel appeared in a crimson velvet coat, adorned with gold, a cloak of crimson satin, bordered with black velvet, and a fine bonnet, which was decorated with golden ornaments and a plume. It does not appear how this gallant chieftain had been able to make so splendid an appearance, but it is likely he had become wealthy, by having received a handsome dowry with his wife, the lady Eleanor. However, he was made earl of Tyrconnel, a title that ranks high among the Irish noblemen of the present day.

On the brave O'Niel, Henry bestowed the title of earl of Tyrone, his estates being in that country; and his son was made Lord Duncannon; and titles were granted to many other chiefs. But although O'Donnel and O'Niel were able to appear in a manner suitable to their rank, the latter was obliged to borrow a hundred pounds of the governor to pay the expenses of his journey to London; and so little prospect had he of returning the gold, that he made an agreement to pay the debt in cattle. Money was so scarce at this time in Ireland, that the governor himself was not possessed of a hundred pounds to lend to O'Niel, but had to borrow it from the merchants of Dublin. This governor, whose name was Sentleger, had succeeded the unfortunate Lord Leonard Gray. He was very popular among the

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chiefs, for knowing how anxious the king was to make friends of them, he had treated them with the greatest courtesy, and endeavoured to oblige them as much as he possibly could; they all, therefore, came to him whenever they were in any difficulties, and some of the favours they requested, serve to shew the extreme poverty in which the Irish chieftains lived.

The earl of Desmond, who, though of English race, was regarded as an Irish chief, and one of the noblest men in the realm, sent to the governor, saying he was in great need of decent clothing, on which Sentleger sent him a jacket, doublet, and hose, for which he was very thankful; and afterwards, when the chiefs, in virtue of their new titles, were expected to attend parliament, the same earl begged he might be provided with proper robes at the king's expense, and some more apparel for his daily use. Many applied for parliament robes, and one chief, O'Rourke, was very glad to accept a suit of common clothes, having little else to wear but his saffron shirt.

The regular national dress worn over the saffron shirt was a thick woollen mantle, very nearly resembling a blanket, generally yellow, but sometimes partly coloured, like a Scotch plaid. It had a fringed border, and was of finer or coarser texture, according to the rank of the wearer. The ancient Irish used in fighting to wrap this mantle round the left arm by way of a shield, because it was hard to cut through. The women wore the mantle over a long gown or kirtle, and those of high rank frequently had it made of fine coloured cloth, adorned with silken fringe, of which many rows were sewed on the upper edge, forming a sort of collar or cape round the neck. Sometimes it was put over the head as a hood, for the unmarried women wore no caps, but either tied up the hair in a knot, or let it hang in long braids down the back. The married women had linen kerchiefs, coloured with saffron, rolled round the

head. The chiefs, and all who could afford to do so, still continued to wear the large linen shirts, dyed yellow with saffron, as described in the time of King Henry the Second; and as they usually had as much as fifteen or sixteen yards of cloth in them, it might be supposed that the Irish must have carried on the manufacture of linen from an early period; but this does not appear to have been the case; for it is not likely that an art of such importance should be unnoticed by historians; therefore we may safely conclude that the Irish did not make their own cloth, but procured it from England or Scotland, in exchange for cattle.

The linen manufactories for which Ireland has since been famous, were first established by the Scots, in Ulster, in the time of James the First; but the manufacture was not carried on to any great extent till the time of Charles the Second. The Irish, however, probably made linen before that period, though not as much as they required for their own consumption, while they wore their linen garments so enormously large. An act in the time of Henry the Eighth prohibited Irishmen from using more than seven yards of cloth in their shirts, or dyeing them with saffron. They were also forbidden to wear the woollen mantles, or to let their hair grow long in the Irish fashion. These commands were not much attended to for some years, but in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the Irish nobles and gentry by degrees conformed to the English dress. It was a long time, however, before the common people could be brought to leave off their fringed blankets and long hair; but in the time of Charles the First, these distinguishing marks of the Irish people gradually disappeared; and, at length, the national costume was only to be seen in the wildest parts of western Ireland.

But let us return to the Irish chiefs and their distresses. The condescension and generosity which the king, for his own purposes, had thought fit to shew towards them, had

won the hearts of the simple chiefs, so that they were all desirous of seeing so gracious a monarch, and of asking some favour from him. Among the rest was one Tirlough O'Toole, one of the poorest, but, at the same time, one of the bravest, of the native chieftains, whose generous spirit would have done honour to the noblest knight of chivalry; a striking instance of which occurred when O'Niel, O'Connor, and other great chiefs, were leagued together to invade the English Pale. Tirlough knew of the intended invasion, and was also aware that the governor had not forces sufficient for its defence; he therefore sent him word that, as so many were against him, he should take his part, until he was free from other enemies, when he intended to go to war with him himself; and he kept his word.

The territories of O'Toole consisted only of some uncultivated lands among the Wicklow mountains, where he lived in the midst of his clan, having no clothes but the one long linen garment, and no better dwelling than a cave. Yet he was proud of his rank, and desirous of going to London to visit the king, to whom he wished to present a petition for some lands to which he considered himself entitled; he therefore made his submission; and begged leave of the governor to go to England, who not only granted his request but, for his timely assistance against O'Niel and O'Connor, sent him twenty pounds to buy a dress, and pay the expenses of his journey.

O'Brien was made earl of Thomond; Mac William, earl of Clanricarde; Mac Kilpatrick, baron of Upper Ossory; and O'Reilly, viscount of Cavan. All the new peers were presented with robes to wear in parliament; and a house, with a piece of ground attached to it, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, was granted to each, for the purpose of keeping their retinues and horses near them, when their parliamentary duties obliged them to be in the capital. King Henry the Eighth thus converted many of the wild warlike

chiefs into a regular Irish nobility; and by giving to most of them grants of the lands belonging to the suppressed abbeys, he silenced their objections to the abolition of the monastic establishments, and made them more willing to acknowledge him, instead of the Pope, as supreme head of the church.

It had often happened among the Irish chieftains, that, although they cheerfully submitted to the king when he was present, and promised obedience to the English laws, they no sooner found themselves freed from his presence, than they forgot the oaths of fealty they had taken, and were as far as ever from being peaceable and faithful. As soon as they had entered their own territories, they resumed the ancient laws and customs of Ireland, and acted as though they had made no promise whatever. As long as Henry the Eighth lived, however, peace was very generally observed throughout the whole country; but soon after his death, while his young son Edward occupied the English throne, two of the Irish chieftains, O'Moore and O'Connor, went to war with the lords of the Pale, and others began to exhibit symptoms of rebellion.

O'Moore and O'Connor were speedily reduced to submission; but after they had laid down their arms, they were treated with great injustice, for they were persuaded to go to London to receive the royal pardon in person; and as the favours that had been granted by the late monarch to their countrymen were still fresh in their remembrance, they did not hesitate to adopt this treacherous advice; but no sooner had they arrived in London, than they were arrested, and imprisoned, and all their estates were divided among those who had so basely betrayed them. These estates, which altogether formed an extensive district, were afterwards settled by Queen Mary into King's county and Queen's county, the chief town of the former being called Philip's-town, in honour of her husband, King Philip, of

Spain; and that of the latter, Maryborough, in reference to herself.

Mary restored the Catholic religion in Ireland as well as in England, and gave back to the church that portion of the church lands which remained at her disposal; but little else worthy of mention occurred in Ireland during her reign.

O'NIEL'S REBELLION,
AND OTHER EVENTS,
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1558 to 1603.

THE people of Ireland had submitted quietly to the innovations made in their religion by Henry the Eighth. They had seen their churches plundered, the monasteries broken into, and all their treasures, which had been held sacred for ages, carried away or wantonly destroyed. Many, indeed, owing to the influence gained over them by the king, had even consented to renounce their ancient faith, and acknowledge the new doctrines; but with all this, there were few who did not gladly return to the old religion; and when Queen Elizabeth wished to re-establish the Protestant church in Ireland, she found it a very difficult task, although an Irish parliament, held in Dublin in the second year of her reign, passed several laws to oblige people to attend Protestant churches, under very severe penalties, such as fines, imprisonment, forfeiture of property, and other punishments; but Elizabeth could not accomplish by persecution what her father had done so readily by bribes and flattery, and her severities against the Catholics, like those of her sister Mary against the Protestants, only served to attach the people more firmly to their faith.

The Irish lords and chieftains still carried on their deprivations upon each others territories, and their wars with each others clans, much in the style in which they had been pursued by the English barons of feudal times; riding about the country with troops of those disorderly soldiers called kerns, and their horse-boys, who were generally the foster-children of the clan, and supplied the places of grooms, pages, and esquires. These troops were an intolerable nuisance, even to their own chiefs' peasantry and townspeople, for they considered themselves privileged, like the baronial retainers of old in every country, to live at free quarters, wherever they went, and to enter any man's house to eat and drink at their will; and instead of being civil or thankful to those at whose expense they were entertained, they only treated them with ridicule or insolence, and sometimes with cruelty. There were many lords belonging to the Desmond family, all equally turbulent, who lived in large castles filled with these ruffian bands, ready to make war or reprisals upon the territories of others.

At this time, the earl of Desmond was at war with the earl of Ormond, who was a cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and was a great favourite at the court. The dispute between these noblemen was about the boundaries of their respective estates; and Desmond having obtained permission to see the queen on the subject, arrived in London, when, instead of being admitted to her presence, he was committed to the Tower, where he was kept a close prisoner for several years. At length he was released, and returned to Ireland, where he re-commenced the war, which now took the character of a rebellion, for he was full of resentment at his long and unjust imprisonment.

At this time the king of Spain, being at war with the queen of England, sent troops to the assistance of the earl of Desmond; but the mode of warfare in Ireland was so different from that to which they had ever been accustomed,

that the Spanish soldiers were not of much use, but were rather an impediment, as they consumed food, without being able to aid the cause in which they were engaged.

At last the earl was defeated, and obliged to fly to the woods, and the Spaniards laid down their arms; but I am sorry to say they were every one shot, and that this barbarous execution was commanded by two very celebrated men; the one being Sir Walter Raleigh, who served in Ireland during this war; and the other, the British poet, Spenser, who was secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The earl, himself, who was then an old man, was surprised by some soldiers in a small hut, which he had entered that he might warm himself at the fire, for the weather was cold, and he had been wandering about without food or shelter, till he had become chilled and hungry. The soldiers, not knowing who he was, but seeing that he belonged to the opposite party, instantly surrounded him, when he cried out, "Spare my life, for I am the earl of Desmond!" But the moment he had uttered the words, he was killed, and his head was sent as a trophy to the earl of Ormond. His immense estates were confiscated to the crown, as were also those of one hundred and forty of his relatives, who were all declared rebels and traitors; and many of them went to serve in the Spanish armies.

The misery occasioned throughout Munster by this rebellion exceeds all description. The famine was so dreadful, that the poor creatures who had fled to the woods and wilds to avoid the terrors of war, used to creep out on their hands and knees from the caves in which they had hidden themselves, to try to find nettles or weeds of any kind to eat, for they had no chance of obtaining other food; and as such wretched nourishment could not long support life, they died in their miserable haunts, and there were none to bury them.

The greater part of the population who had escaped death from war, thus miserably perished by famine; so that Mun-

ster was converted almost into an uninhabited desert. In order therefore that it might be re-peopled, forty new lordships were created out of the vacant lands, which were let at very small rents to English nobles, who were willing enough to become Irish landlords on the terms proposed; which were, that they should place a certain number of English families on these estates, and not let any part of them to the Irish. But this was an object of difficult accomplishment, for English farmers were not willing to leave their own country to settle in a land where they would be considered as intruders by the natives, and have to defend their possessions by force of arms; very few, therefore, went over, and the new lords were obliged to take Irish tenantry, or they would have had no rents from their lands. Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a grant of a part of these lands, and was the first who planted potatoes and tobacco in Ireland, which were originally brought from America; the former vegetable has become naturalized to the soil, and, with oatmeal, has long formed the chief sustenance of the common people.

The next rebellion was that of the great northern chief, O'Niel, a far more formidable foe than the earl of Desmond. The O'Niels were of the ancient royal race, and traced back their ancestry to a period earlier than the days of St. Patrick. They were justly proud of their descent from the kings who, for five centuries, had ruled over the country, but they had not made any great figure in Irish history since the English conquest. They had become allied to the earls of Kildare, by the marriage of a daughter of the Fitzgerald family, to Henry, one of the O'Niel chiefs, during the War of the Roses; and it was on account of this relationship, that this sept aided Lord Thomas Fitzgerald in his rebellion, and was friendly to his younger brother, Gerald, in his misfortunes.

The present head of the sept was Shane O'Niel, the son of that O'Niel who was created earl of Tyrone by Henry the Eighth; but Shane, which is the Irish name for John, had a

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half-brother, called Matthew, who was the older of the two, and had received the title of Lord Duncannon from the king of England, at the same time that his father was made an earl. Now these two O'Niels were never friends; for I believe Shane suspected that Matthew was not really his brother, therefore he thought he had the greater right to be Lord Duncannon, and also to inherit his father's titles at his death. They were therefore constantly quarrelling, and their people fighting, till, at last, Matthew was murdered, and it was believed that his brother was the assassin. Matthew left two sons, Hugh and Cormac, who fled to England, where they were maintained by some of the English nobility, who could always find employment for youths of noble birth. When his brother was dead, and the two boys had gone to another country, Shane O'Niel became chief of the sept, and took upon himself all the authority of the ancient kings of Ulster, acting according to the old laws of Ireland, and carrying on wars without the permission of the lord lieutenant, which was contrary to the English law. He was summoned to appear at Dublin to answer for his conduct; but as he did not think it safe to go, he wrote a very respectful letter to the lord lieutenant, saying that circumstances prevented him from obeying the summons, but he hoped his lordship would honour his castle of Strabane, in Tyrone, with his presence, and stand god-father to his little boy.

The governor went, and was very hospitably entertained, so that he and O'Niel became friends; and the chief, ventured, in consequence, to pay a visit to London, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the queen, that he might represent to her why he considered himself more entitled to inherit his father's estates than the children of his brother Matthew. He did not enter London as a poor and humble suitor, but rode along in state, richly dressed, and followed by a numerous train of foot guards, all habited according to

the fashion of their country, in large loose garments of saffron-coloured linen, under which the officers, or chiefs, wore light armour, with a sword, shield, and a weapon like a battle-axe or spear, about four feet long, at the insertion of the head of which into the staff, was a ball of brass, studded with spikes; the sword, shield, and spear, being of the same metal; and this costume must have been very becoming, for the Irishmen were famed for their size, strength, and personal beauty. The common men wore only the saffron coloured garment, fastened by a belt round the waist; a large fringed woollen mantle hung from the left shoulder, and they were armed with a very long lance or spear. They had no covering on their heads, and their flowing beards gave them a ferocious but dignified appearance.

Queen Elizabeth, who delighted in romance and show, was charmed at receiving a visit from a Wild Irish chief, with his train of kerns, particularly one of such high renown as O'Niel; therefore she gave him a most gracious reception, listened with a ready ear to his representations of his own rights, and confirmed him in his title and estates; so that he returned with triumph to his own country, where, for a short time, he conducted himself very peaceably. But this creditable behaviour was not of long continuance; for unmindful of the oath of allegiance he had so lately taken, he was soon again in arms, and the whole province of Ulster was devastated by his followers.

At this time, the lord lieutenant was Sir John Perrot, who commenced the foundation, or rather the restoration, of the University of Dublin. He was much beloved by the people, and esteemed a good man, though he was guilty of an act which we cannot regard but as one of treachery. A report was spread abroad that O'Donnel, the chief of Tyrconnel, was on the point of joining in O'Niel's rebellion; the governor, therefore, was extremely anxious to get hostages that would oblige him to remain quiet; but the difficulty was,

how to obtain such security. In this object, however, he at length succeeded, by means of a stratagem, which is more remarkable for its ingenuity than for its equity.

He hired a vessel, in which he induced the captain to ship a quantity of Spanish wines, of various sorts. With this cargo, he himself sailed round to O'Donnel's county, Donegal, and taking care that it should not be known who he was, he sent to invite some of the Donegal gentry to come on board to taste his wines, an invitation which the Irish were not likely to refuse, and, among others, came young O'Donnel, the son of the chieftain, and the very person the governor wanted. A fine entertainment was provided, of which he and one or two of his companions being invited to partake, they all sat down very merrily, and the wine was handed about so freely, that the young men were too much engaged to perceive that the vessel was fast sailing away with them, nor did they discover the trick till they were far out at sea. O'Donnel was kept prisoner for a long time in Dublin castle, as a hostage for his father's good behaviour; but he, at length, found means to escape, and was ever after a determined enemy to the English.

O'Donnel became so renowned as a chieftain, that his adventures are worth recording. He married the daughter of Shane O'Niel, and distinguished himself in the rebellions of his father-in-law, who carried on a most destructive warfare against the Scoto-Irish nobles of Ulster. This Shane O'Niel burnt down the church of Armagh, and laid siege to Dundalk; but after having wasted the whole country with fire and sword, he was, at length, defeated in a battle fought at Derry. Being persuaded to make peace with the Scots of Ulster, in the hope that they would unite with him against the English, he ventured among them, and was stabbed at a banquet to which he had been invited. This happened in the year 1567.

In the meantime, the sons of Matthew O'Niel had grown

up to manhood, and Hugh, the elder of them, being of gentle manners and handsome person, was a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth, who made him captain of a troop of horse, and employed him in the wars against the earl of Desmond. After the death of Shane, she was induced to bestow on him the title of earl of Tyrone, and restore a part of the estates of his uncle, which had been forfeited to the crown. Hugh was very grateful for these favours; he built a fine mansion on his estate, and, for a long time, acted as a dutiful and loyal subject, till a circumstance happened that aroused in him that rebellious spirit which seemed inseparable from his race.

After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, some of the vessels were wrecked on the Irish coast; and the poor Spaniards, who were saved from the wrecks, were very kindly treated by the earl of Tyrone, which furnished his enemies with an opportunity of persuading the queen that he was in treasonable correspondence with the king of Spain. The accusation was made by a son of Shane O'Niel; and the earl was so enraged at it, that having got his cousin into his power, he caused him to be strangled.

The natural ferocity of his nature being now awakened, he began to form schemes for increasing his own power, and, like all the great chiefs of his race, meditated on the possibility of one day occupying the throne of his ancestors. Under the influence of this wild hope, he entered into a secret compact with O'Donnel, and other chieftains of Ulster, to support the Catholic religion against the Protestants, to suffer neither sheriffs nor garrisons within their territories, and to resist, to the utmost of their power, the English laws and government.

These combined chiefs then entered into a correspondence with Philip the Second, of Spain, who was very ready to assist them, as one means of taking revenge for the defeat of his great armada. Then began another war even more

ruinous than the former one; nor was it confined to the north of Ireland, for O'Niel, being elated with some victories he had gained over the English, sent troops into Munster to excite rebellion in that province, and again the whole country was desolated by fire and sword. The farmers were everywhere robbed of their corn and cattle, the castles and churches were set on fire, and the wretched inhabitants of towns and villages were obliged to fly for shelter to the woods and mountains.

Such was the deplorable state of Ireland when the earl of Essex was sent over by Queen Elizabeth with a large army, to put an end to the rebellion. He was instructed to proceed directly against the earl of Tyrone; but, instead of doing so, he marched into Munster, where he lost a great part of his army by famine and fatigue. In the meanwhile, O'Niel was gaining many advantages in the north; and made bold by his success, loudly boasted that he would restore the ancient monarchy of his country. The king of Spain sent him money and troops, and the Pope wrote several encouraging letters to him, which were accompanied by handsome presents.

When the earl of Essex returned from the south, he found his army too much weakened to risk a battle with O'Niel; therefore, after some delay, he proposed a conference with the formidable chieftain; and they met, each attended by a numerous guard, on the opposite banks of a small river, when O'Niel, to shew his confidence in the English nobleman, plunged with his horse into the stream, and joined him, and they rode together, unattended, along the bank, in earnest conversation. The result of this interview was an agreement that they should suspend hostilities for six weeks. During that time of truce, Essex received a very angry letter from the queen, and embarked suddenly for England, where he was some time afterwards beheaded.

After Essex's departure from Ireland, Lord Mountjoy was

sent to carry on the war, and proved to be a cruel commander, for he gave no quarter; that is, after a victory, he did not spare the lives of those who surrendered; and he sent his soldiers in pursuit of the flying, with orders to show mercy to none. It was the policy of this fierce nobleman to create a famine among the Irish, by burning their corn, and destroying their implements of husbandry; and he succeeded but too well. The tide of fortune now began to turn. Some of the chiefs fled to Spain, while their people dispersed themselves among the mountains; and, at length, O'Niel himself went to Dublin, and made submission to the lord lieutenant Mountjoy, at the same time expressing a hope that the queen would pardon him; but the queen had been dead some days, and her successor, James, not being likely to show any favour to the Irish rebels, O'Niel and O'Donnel both fled to Italy, and all their estates became forfeited to the crown.

O'Niel spent the remainder of his life in tranquillity at Rome, supported by a pension from the Pope. He was blind for some time before his death, which happened in the year 1616; and, a few years afterwards, his only son was assassinated at Brussels. We shall find, however, that there were O'Niels who distinguished themselves in insurrections and civil wars in Ireland at a later period, but they are descended from another branch of the family.

During the whole reign of Elizabeth, Ireland was one continued scene of wars and rebellions. The natives in every part of the country were accustomed to hold meetings on the hills, to discourse on the affairs of the nation; and as these assemblies were always held for the purpose of plotting treason against the English government, those who attended them invariably went well armed. They were, in fact, often surprised at these meetings by parties of English soldiers, when skirmishes took place, in which lives were frequently lost on both sides. The Irish had a superstitious veneration

tion for high places. Their ancient monarchs were always crowned on the summit of a mount; their castles were built on elevated spots; and the national assemblies of the early ages were held on the hill of Tara; where, until within a few years, it had been generally supposed stood the castle and palace of the kings of Ireland, in former days.

During the troubled time of O'Niel's wars, every body was, of course, very anxious to know what was going on; and as there were no newspapers to tell them, the deficiency was supplied by a distinct class of men, called news-tellers, who went up and down the country, collecting all the information they could obtain. Their news was welcomed at the farmers' and gentlemen's houses, where their tales were eagerly listened to; and, in return for their information, they were hospitably entertained and lodged for the night; and thus they went about from house to house, with a certainty of meeting with a favourable reception.

News-tellers were of very ancient date in Ireland; and were as much encouraged by the English as by the Irish; for both parties were eager to hear what was going on; and it is very probable that stories were often invented for the purpose of obtaining a good meal and a night's lodging. Laws had been frequently made to prohibit the inhabitants of the English pale from entertaining either news-tellers or minstrels; but the practice was continued in defiance of the laws, and, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, they everywhere met with encouragement.

They were not likely, however, to get such good and plentiful entertainment as formerly; for the wars had made provisions so dear, that even rich people must have found great difficulty in procuring a bare subsistence. Corn, with all other sorts of grain, and animal food of every kind, had risen to seven or eight times the usual prices, while in many parts of the country, meat and bread could not be obtained at all.

In consequence, too, of the unsettled state of the country, and the uncertain tenure of all landed property, those who held estates did not let their land to farmers for terms of years, but only from year to year: consequently, the tenant, who knew he could be turned out at any time, felt no interest in the improvement of his farm, nor any inducement to build a good house; he therefore only constructed a miserable cabin, just large enough for himself and his family; so that, when they had to quit the farm, they left nothing behind them to regret.

The clergy, at this time, had become so impoverished, that even those who had the will, had not the power, to relieve the wants of the poor, for the lands being neglected, or badly cultivated, the livings were of little value, and the tithes were hardly sufficient to buy gowns for the priests.

Many of the old Irish families became extinct during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; for the chiefs who had been concerned in the rebellions fled into other countries, and their septs were dispersed; so that, although the names of O'Sullivan, O'Donovan, Mac Carthy, &c. still existed, and do exist in Ireland to this day, yet the persons who bore these names no longer formed large and powerful clans, claiming a part of the country as their territory, and obeying the laws of an hereditary chieftain.

COLONIZATION OF ULSTER

BY

JAMES THE FIRST.

1603 to 1614.

I HAVE already described the distresses of the people of

Munster, owing to the earl of Desmond's rebellion; and I have mentioned the dreadful termination of the attempts that were made to introduce agriculture and manufactures and to repeople that part of the country with English colonists; but a better plan of colonization than any which had been previously adopted, was formed and carried into effect in Ulster, after the flight of O'Niel and O'Donnell, and the consequent forfeiture of their dominions, which had left the whole province at the disposal of the king of England, who thought this was a good opportunity to promote the arts of peace in Ireland, and to civilize its people who were still in a barbarous condition.

He proposed his plan to the citizens of London, who raised a sum of twenty thousand pounds for the purpose; and as soon as he had obtained this liberal aid, he sent over commissioners to take a survey of the lands, to see how far they were inhabited, and note down proper situations for building towns and castles; and he resolved to dispose of all these lands so as to introduce arts and manufactures into the country, which might have the effect of rendering it populous and wealthy, and of promoting a more friendly intercourse between the English and the Irish people.

Until this time, no part of Ireland, except Leinster and Munster, had been divided into counties; but King James made similar divisions throughout the whole kingdom, granted fairs and markets to towns in every county, appointed regular circuits of Judges, and decreed that thenceforth the laws of England should also be the laws of Ireland.

Kilkenny had long been a considerable trading town. As early as the time of Edward the Third, the inhabitants had been so fond of dress and good living, that sumptuary laws were made to restrain them in these expensive propensities; no one being allowed to wear gold, silver, or silk, in his dress, who had not one hundred pounds a-year. In the time of Henry the Seventh, there were glovers, shoemakers, tailors,

and other artisans, in Kilkenny. There were also merchants, who sold all kinds of mercery, silks, taffetas, gold and silver stuffs, and fine linens and cambrics; but none of these articles were manufactured in Ireland.

Queen Elizabeth had granted a charter to this town, permitting the burgesses to form themselves into guilds or companies, and to carry on their several trades, free of customs and duties: and James the First granted still more ample favours to its citizens, by appointing for their government a mayor, aldermen, and common-council, and privileging them to hold three markets every week, and three fairs annually.

By the decree of King James, the lands in Ulster were to be divided into lots, of three different classes; the largest to contain two thousand acres, the next, fifteen hundred, and the smallest, one thousand acres. Those who obtained a grant of the first class, were to erect a castle and a bawn, the latter being a court yard with a strong wall; those who received a lot belonging to the second class, were to build a house of stone, or a bridge and a bawn; but those to whom the smallest lots were given, were only bound to build a bawn; and were at liberty to make what sort of a dwelling they pleased.

The English undertakers, as the new proprietors were called, were to people their estates with industrious families from England or the lowlands of Scotland; who were not to live dispersed over the land, but to dwell together in villages for their mutual security; and every man was to be provided with arms for his defence. Some of these lands were given to old Irish chieftains, who were allowed to take Irish tenants, to whom the liberty of religion was granted, provided they would conform to the English mode of tillage and husbandry, and forsake their old custom of wandering about, or creaghting, as they called it, with their cattle, from place to place, in search of pasture.

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A plan of such magnitude required a great deal of clever management; therefore, a committee was established in London, called the Committee of the Irish Society, the members of which were to be elected annually, out of the aldermen and common council, and to conduct all affairs relative to the lands and fisheries of the north of Ireland. The fisheries, at this time, formed a considerable branch of trade, and their encouragement was particularly attended to.

Three hundred mechanics, with their families, were sent out to re-people the towns of Coleraine and Derry, the latter of which was, from that time, called Londonderry, and was erected by King James into a bishopric. Two hundred new houses were built in Londonderry, and one hundred in Coleraine, since famous for its linen trade; while artisans and manufacturers of all descriptions were sent to the new settlements; so that what was formerly the most barbarous and wildest part of Ireland, became the most civilized and industrious, notwithstanding the misfortunes I shall presently have occasion to relate. Each portion of land constituted a parish, and contained a church; the rector having, besides his tithes, marriage-fees, and other dues, a certain number of acres of land, according to the extent of his parish. The new colonists were not left without the means of education for their children; for free schools were established in most of the principal towns; and considerable grants of land were also made, with the same view, to the University of Dublin, which had been revived by Sir John Perrot, under the sanction of Queen Elizabeth.

The scheme for the colonization of Ulster was undoubtedly good, and reflected more credit on King James than any other act of his reign; but the execution of it by no means corresponded with the original plan, and thus much of the anticipated benefit was lost. British tenants were difficult to be procured in sufficient numbers, while the old natives offered better rents, and were, in consequence, ad-

mitted into these districts, from which it had been intended to exclude them.

The English and Irish, therefore, were again mixed together, although, according to the first plan, they were to have been kept separate; for as the Irish were not very well pleased with the new arrangement, which deprived them of a large tract of wild country, where they had been accustomed to roam about as they pleased with their cattle and families, it was thought rather dangerous to admit them freely among the British settlers; and so it afterwards proved. The agents, too, who were sent over to Ireland, tried to make a profit for themselves, instead of doing the best they could for the advancement of the new colony. - Yet, with all these disadvantages, it did improve; and its beneficial effects are felt in the north of Ireland to this day. James the First incorporated many of the towns; by which they gained the privileges of boroughs, that is, the right of electing their own magistrates and councillors, of watching, cleansing, and paving their towns, and of having the internal management of all affairs within the boundary of their own borough, and the right of sending members to the Irish parliament.

The old Brehon laws were now entirely abolished throughout the country, and those of England substituted for them, which was what the Irish, some centuries before, had so ardently desired; but they did not now approve of the change, accompanied, as it was, with the breaking-up of their septs or clans. They viewed the English colonists in the light of intruders; setting very little value on the security, or on the arts and manufactures, they had introduced.

The new manufacturing population was chiefly of the Protestant religion, and was confined to Ulster; Leinster was still inhabited by the descendants of the old English settlers, who were principally Catholics; Munster was almost a wilderness, the wars and famines not leaving suffi-

cient people to cultivate the earth: and Connaught, the only part of Ireland where the English had never made any settlements, was entirely inhabited by the native Irish, and was the wildest and most uncivilized portion of the country. Those who lived among the English, had left off their saffron shirts, and adopted a costume more suited to their better condition. They wore blue bonnets, something like those of the Scots; a doublet or jacket with skirts reaching half way to the knees; trowsers of white frieze; and shoes, which they called brogues. Their mantles were generally of brown woollen cloth; and these were also worn by the women, who, when married, still continued the fashion of wrapping round their heads a kerchief of linen cloth.

The Irish were still remarkable for their hospitality to strangers; a trait that has distinguished them in every age; and the rude chief in his thatched castle, or the poor cotter in his mud cabin, were equally ready to set the best fare before a traveller; particularly if that traveller chanced to offer a little snuff, which was regarded as an especial treat, snuff and tobacco having only a short time previously been introduced into this part of the world from America. The price of an ox was, at this time, about fifteen shillings; of a sheep, sixteen pence to two shillings; and of a hog, two shillings and two-pence. Oats were four-pence, and barley ten-pence to eleven-pence, per bushel.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ENGLISH COLONY.

1641 to 1650.

THE English colonists had been settled in Ulster about thirty years, and during that time had lived on friendly terms with the Irish of that province. The woollen and linen manufac-

tories were rising to some importance, the farms were in a thriving state, and all seemed to be prospering; so that the colonists neglected to take much precaution for their own safety, little anticipating the dreadful catastrophe I am about to relate.

Many of the English proprietors had let small farms to Irish tenants; many who were not proprietors had become tenants of the Irish landowners, and numbers of English families employed Irish servants. So little fear of any treachery existed, that the people had long neglected to keep arms, as they had been enjoined to do; and perhaps they never would have needed them, if it had not been for the arbitrary conduct of King Charles the First, who certainly acted with great injustice towards the Irish.

The trade of the Irish with foreign countries, was, at this time, very considerable, particularly with Spain and France; for, in consequence of the long peace, they had much more than enough of produce for their own consumption. They were able, therefore, to send abroad ships laden with fish, salt meat, corn, butter, hides, wool, cattle, horses, iron, and some manufactured articles, such as frieze cloths, rugs, and blankets, tallow-candles, and a great deal of woollen and linen yarn, for which they were paid, partly in money, and partly in wine and salt.

I have mentioned all these commodities, that you may know what kind of trade it was that the Irish carried on, and be enabled to judge what were the principal occupations of the people: who, even at this late period, were still in a most primitive state of civilisation.

Thus, however, they were gradually growing wealthy by commerce, when Charles the First issued a decree, that no goods should be exported from Ireland to foreign countries, without the payment of a heavy duty, which was, of course, a very great injury to the producers of such goods, and to the merchants, whose trade and, consequently, their profits,

were thereby decreased; for the Spaniards and French would not purchase Irish commodities, when they found they should have to pay dearer for them than they had been accustomed to do; but were supplied from other countries that had not such duties to pay.

This measure probably awakened a spirit of discontent; but it was not the greatest grievance of which the Irish had to complain. You are aware that there were no English plantations in Connaught, and that the whole province was inhabited by native Irish. The English laws, however, were established there, as well as in the other provinces; and the old custom of tanistry had been entirely abolished, by obliging the tanists to surrender their lands, and receive them back from the crown, to be held in future according to the English, and not the Irish law.

You may remember also, that the lands used to be divided in Ireland among the male relatives of a deceased chief, the eldest having the largest share, and that a new chief, or tanist, was usually elected, instead of the son succeeding the father. This was tanistry; and it was on the ground of this ancient law, that the chief, Hugh O'Niel, asserted his right to the lands of Tyrone, in preference to the sons of his brother, although the title of earl had been granted to his grandfather, on condition of his abandoning Irish customs, and adopting those of England.

This very circumstance showed the bad effects of having two kinds of law in the land; because the Irish chiefs and the Anglo-Irish noblemen, too, were very apt to avail themselves of whichever was most convenient to them. Now, when the chiefs of Connaught gave up their lands to James the First, and received them back on paying large fees, which produced a considerable sum of money for the needy king, these estates ought to have been registered in the Court of Chancery, to show that the proper dues had been paid to the crown, and that they were the legal pro-

perty of the owners. But this had never been done; and although King Charles knew very well that the neglect was attributable to the English government, and not to the proprietors, he was ungenerous enough to take advantage of the circumstance; and to declare that the estates were forfeited, because no mention of them was to be found in the Chancery rolls.

This proceeding of King Charles was both dishonourable and tyrannical, and his subsequent conduct was equally so; for he agreed, instead of seizing the estates, to take a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the object of the king was only to procure money; in return for which, he was to grant certain favours to the proprietors, which he called "graces." These graces related to the shipping of cattle free of duty, and other privileges connected with trade; but so far were they from having been regularly confirmed, although the money was paid within the stated time, that the king, on failing to extort more money, actually took them away.

The proprietors resisted this robbery, and the dispute was to be settled by a jury, who were obliged in those times, whatever might be their private opinions, to give judgment in favour of the king, and declare all the lands in Connaught forfeited to the crown. We cannot wonder that people thus treated should be dissatisfied; and although nothing can justify the shocking outrages they committed upon the poor colonists, who had nothing whatever to do with the transaction, and were suffering under the loss of their own trade; still, in reading of the terrible revenge they took, we ought not to forget the extent of the injury inflicted on them by the dishonourable conduct of Charles the First.

The plan of a general insurrection was formed by Roger O'Moore, who had served in the Spanish armies, and was one of the sept of that O'Moore whose lands were confiscated for rebellion in the time of Edward the Sixth. Roger

O'Moore thought that by a sudden and general rising of the Catholics all over the kingdom, the English might even yet be expelled, and the Irish might recover their lands.

As the entire destruction of the Protestants, and the full restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, was a part of his plan, he reckoned upon the assistance of the Catholic lords of the Pale, most of whom actually entered into the conspiracy, and concerted measures with O'Moore and Phelim O'Niel, now the most powerful chief in Ireland. The insurrection was to begin in all parts of the country on the same day; when all the forts were to be seized by the insurgents, but more particularly Dublin castle, in which were plentiful stores of arms and ammunition.

The secret had been preserved till the night before the execution of the plot, when it was betrayed by an Irishman, named Conolly, who gave information of the intended attack on the castle, and also pointed out the principal conspirators. Two or three of these were immediately arrested; but there was no time to stay the progress of the plot, which burst forth with tremendous violence.

The colonists of Ulster, who had no suspicion of the existence of such a conspiracy, suddenly found themselves surrounded by mobs of infuriated Irishmen, armed with staves, pitchforks, and other rude weapons, with which they were slaughtered amidst the most frightful howlings of their assailants. The terror of the destined victims may readily be imagined, particularly when they saw among the insurgents their own landlords, tenants, or servants, persons to whom they would naturally have looked for assistance in such an emergency.

The revolting scenes that followed are too dreadful to be described; therefore, I shall only add, that the flourishing manufactories, the farms, and pleasant villages, that had sprung up in Ulster within the previous forty years, were destroyed, and the unfortunate colonists, whose industry

and property had so materially improved that part of the country, were barbarously murdered, to the number of fifty thousand; for the Irish had determined on the extermi- nation of the Protestants, and destruction of the English settlements; and so general was this sanguinary feeling, that women, and even boys and girls, were among the destroyers, helping to set fire to the houses, and adding to the horrors of the scene by those hideous cries peculiar to the native Irish.

The rebellion began on the 23rd of October, 1641, and settled into a regular war, which lasted ten years; and again reduced nearly the whole of the people of Ireland to the extreme of want and wretchedness. Where the people were not destroyed by the sword, they were wasted by famine and disease; for when they were driven by a scarcity of food to eat what was unwholesome, the plague ensued; and it raged in Ireland, more or less, during the whole of this miserable period, so that many parts of the country were entirely depopulated.

For some time, the war was carried on by the Irish, without any regular plan; for each sept followed its own particular leader, and made attacks on the English whenever and wherever an opportunity offered. Sometimes they would set fire to a house in the dead of the night, and as the wretched inmates rushed out to escape from the blazing walls, they would push them back with their long spears, into the flames; and it is equally true, that the English soldiers were afterwards guilty of similar cruelties towards the Irish, sparing neither men, women, nor children.

The chief commander of the English forces was the marquis of Ormond, who was himself a brave and good nobleman; but there were other English officers who took little pains to restrain the depredations of the troops; while the Irish were encouraged in every kind of barbarity by their principal chieftain, Sir Phelim O'Niel, a man of the most

ferocious disposition. But the most distinguished individual throughout the war was Owen O'Niel, a cousin of Sir Phelim. Owen, who had served abroad in the Spanish and Austrian armies, had returned to Ireland a few months after the breaking-out of the rebellion; and immediately assumed the chief command of the Irish armies. He was not so cruel a man as Sir Phelim, and possessed far greater abilities as a general, in consequence of the experience he had gained in foreign service.

The troubles in England, for this was the time when Charles the First was at war with his parliament, prevented the English government from sending proper supplies to the army in Ireland, which was much distressed for want both of food and clothes. The soldiers were sometimes obliged to march along rough roads, with their feet naked and bleeding, and through a wasted, dreary country, where they could find nothing to eat, and where they became so exhausted with fatigue and hunger, that numbers of them fell down and perished by the way. In such a state of destitution, it is not surprising that they should rob the people of what provisions they had; and as the poor cotters all over the country found a difficulty in getting enough food to keep themselves alive, they frequently lost their lives in defending their scanty meal.

Owen O'Niel had instituted a council at Kilkenny, composed of Catholic nobles and clergy, with deputies from several of the counties, to deliberate upon the best measures to be pursued. It was, in fact, a kind of parliament; and as the marquis of Ormond was now anxious to gain the support of the Irish for the king, against the English parliament, he entered into a negotiation with O'Niel's council, and arranged a treaty of peace, by which tranquillity was for a short time restored.

It appears, however, that the Pope did not approve of this peace, which he considered hurtful to the Catholic religion

in Ireland; he therefore sent his nuncio, or ambassador, a priest named Rinuccini, who landed at Kerry, in 1645, with a retinue of Italians, a quantity of arms and ammunition, and a large supply of Spanish gold. This priest announced that he had come to support the Catholic faith, and guard the liberties of the Catholic people of Ireland; and he assembled a council at Kilkenny, in which he exhorted all good Catholics to continue the war. This dreadful war was, in consequence, very soon renewed. By the authority of the nuncio, many of the abbeys were restored to the monks and friars. The Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Jesuits, were reinstated in most of their ancient possessions, and diligently set about repairing and beautifying the monasteries all over the country. When Owen O'Niel again took the field, Lord Ormond resigned his command to Colonel Jones, a parliamentary officer, who was governor of Dublin, and commander-in-chief of the anti-royalists in Ireland. Ormond then went to England; and afterwards passed over to the Continent.

After the execution of Charles the First, the English parliament appointed Oliver Cromwell lord lieutenant of Ireland, and commander-in-chief of the forces in that country; and he landed at Dublin in the month of August, 1649, with an army of twelve thousand men, well furnished with artillery and all kinds of stores. Before his arrival, however, Lord Ormond had returned to Ireland; and finding that there was a general feeling in favour of restoring Charles the Second, he raised soldiers for him, and caused him to be proclaimed everywhere except at Dublin; which was the only town that then acknowledged the authority of the English parliament.

When Cromwell therefore arrived, he was regarded generally as a foe, both by English and Irish, except by the people of Dublin; so that most of those who were before so fiercely and mercilessly opposed to each other, now united

their forces against him. Oliver Cromwell was fitted to succeed in any enterprise which he undertook, because he perceived at once the most likely method to ensure success, and always adopted that method without hesitation or delay. Several places had been newly fortified, that they might be able to stand a siege, and particularly the city of Drogheda, in which Lord Ormond had placed a strong garrison; but a siege was too slow an operation for so active a general as Cromwell, who hastened towards Drogheda, resolving to take it by storm. His enterprise succeeded, but his victory was dreadful, for no sooner had the artillery made a breach in the wall, sufficiently large to admit the soldiers, than they were ordered to storm the town, and put the whole garrison to the sword. This cruel command was reluctantly obeyed, and out of three thousand soldiers not more than thirty were spared, and those were sold us slaves to the West Indian planters.

This terrible example spread such consternation throughout Ireland, that Cromwell subsequently met with little opposition, and marched onward, taking all the garrison towns in his way. At length he had so far subdued the country, that he thought it safe to leave others to complete the conquest, while he went to subdue an insurrection that had broken out in Scotland in favour of King Charles. Cromwell had been in Ireland about nine months, during which time, the chieftain, Owen O'Niel, died, and Lord Ormond quitted the country; for the victorious general gave permission to the Irish chiefs who submitted to him, to withdraw from the country, with as many of their followers as they chose to take with them. These voluntary exiles are said to have amounted to forty thousand, and a portion of them formed a famous body of troops in France, called the Irish Brigade.

The sufferings of the natives during the war were very great; and every where as the English army approached,

they were seen flying from their habitations into the woods and wilds, fearfully dreading a retaliation of the cruelties inflicted on the Protestants in Ulster. Their houses were plundered by the soldiers, and their harps were broken; so that afterwards, although an occasional harp might still be seen, it ceased to be the national instrument of music.

In Trinity college, Dublin, there is still preserved an ancient Irish harp, said to have belonged to the great king, Brien Boru; and although it is very doubtful whether it is the identical instrument that resounded to the touch of that renowned warrior, it is, from its evident antiquity, an interesting relic of former days.

Great part of the country was so depopulated by these wars, and by the plague and famine which followed in their train, that a traveller at this period might have ridden twenty or thirty miles without seeing a single living creature. It was so rare to see smoke by day, or a light by night, that soldiers used long afterwards to relate anecdotes of such circumstances, and tell how they chanced to see the glimmering of a light, or the bright blaze of a fire at a great distance; and how, when they had crossed some dreary waste, and reached the spot to which they had been attracted by a sight so unusual, they found a miserable cabin, with a few children, and some very aged man or woman, or perhaps two or three wretched and destitute human beings, feeding on some substance from which, in better times, they would have turned with disgust.

Cromwell, finding that there were so many destitute children who had been left orphans through the calamities of the country, caused them to be conveyed, to the number of several thousands, to North America, where they were sold as servants, till they became twenty-one years of age, to defray the expenses of their keeping and voyage.

There is an anecdote related of Cromwell while he was in Ireland, which shews that even he was sometimes outwitted.

During his stay at Clonmell, a gentleman named Magner, waited on him to pay his respects, but the general from some cause had a suspicion that he was not so friendly as he appeared to be. Cromwell, however, treated him with apparent cordiality, and gave him a letter to take to the governor of Cork, to which city he was going. But Magner, who was as cunning as the general, opened the letter, and found it was an order to cut off the head of the bearer, whose name was not mentioned. As soon as he had perused the contents, he carefully re-sealed the letter, and gave it to another gentleman, who had done him some injury for which he wished to revenge himself; pretending that Cromwell had desired that he should be the bearer of this fatal epistle; for, unfortunately, every Irish chief or his family had some real or supposed injury to avenge. The gentleman, not having the least suspicion of the trick, took the letter to the governor of Cork, who luckily was acquainted with him; and not liking to cut his friend's head off without knowing wherefore, he sent a messenger to Cromwell, to ask if he really did send the order; and, in consequence of the information received, the poor gentleman's life was saved, and Magner, meanwhile, had taken care to get beyond the reach of vengeance.

After the departure of Cromwell from Ireland, the war was carried on in the south by his son-in-law, General Ireton, and in the north by Sir Charles Coote; and the principal enemy they had to contend with, was another chieftain of the house of O'Niel, named Hugh, who, like his kinsman Owen, had come from the continent to establish the old religion, and the old chieftains of his country; but his efforts were vain; and at length the people of Ireland, finding it useless to make any further resistance, gave up the contest in the year 1651; and so ended this melancholy and destructive war, just ten years after its commencement.

One good arose out of the great and manifold evils of this insurrection. Military roads were opened, and made into and through many of the mountainous districts of the country, which afterwards became a principal cause of the improvement of the condition of the people, by the inducements it offered to settle portions of the wild lands for farms and build habitations upon them; the inhabitants being afforded security for peaceable possession, by the establishment of barracks for soldiers on or near them, who kept open communication with each other and with different parts of the country, thereby promoting peace and trade. These beneficial measures were gradually adopted in other parts.

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THE country was now entirely subdued, but there was yet much more to be done; for according to the customs of those times, there were broad lands to be confiscated, rebels to be punished, and services to be repaid. All this was effected by an act of parliament called the Act for the Settlement of Ireland; by which very important changes were made in the condition of that country, as much of the landed property passed into the hands of new proprietors.

But the first thing to be considered was, how to dispose of those who had taken part in the rebellion. A general pardon was granted to all the lower classes, who had acted in this, and in every previous outbreak, entirely under the influence of their superiors; but most of the native Irish were obliged to remove beyond the Shannon, so as to leave the rest of the country free for English settlers, and to this day, there are more real Irish people in Connaught than in any other part of Ireland. Some persons of higher rank

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were also pardoned, and some only subjected to a slight penalty; but there were certain classes of the rebels named, who were to be punished with death, or the loss of a whole or a part of their estates; and these were all who were concerned in first causing the massacre of the colonists of Ulster; all who had sat in the assembly at Kilkenny; all priests, monks, and jesuits, who had taken an active part in the rebellion; and also many noblemen and gentlemen mentioned by name, amongst whom were the marquis of Ormond and Sir Phelim O'Niel; but of these two, the latter only was executed.

The large tracts of land that were left vacant by forfeitures and the removal of the Irish to the west of the Shannon, were divided among the officers who had engaged in the war since Cromwell took the command of the troops in Ireland; and among a number of adventurers who had advanced money to parliament for the carrying on of the war, and were willing to accept of Irish estates in payment.

As to those soldiers who had served in Ireland before Cromwell was made commander-in-chief, since they were considered the king's troops, and, in consequence, were suspected of being Royalists, and enemies of the Commonwealth, they received neither pay nor compensation; which was very unjust, and a sure way of attaching them to the cause of Charles the Second. The vacant lands in the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Cork, and Carlow, were reserved by the parliament, except some church lands that had belonged to insurgent bishops, which were granted to the University of Dublin.

The great chieftain, Hugh O'Niel, was pardoned; and he afterwards led a wandering life, according to the manners of the Wild Irish, roving about from place to place with his wife, whom he had brought from France, his children, and the people of his sept. Like the Arabs of the desert, they took with them their flocks and herds, and raised their tem-

porary dwellings wherever they found the best pasture. If, as O'Niel was wont to assert, his wife was a niece of the Duchesse D'Artois, the lady must have had great difficulty in reconciling herself to a mode of life so rude, so comfortless, and so opposite to that of a Frenchwoman of rank in the refined age of Louis the Fourteenth, who was just then beginning his luxurious career.

The act of settlement was not very strictly enforced by Cromwell, for many who had been sentenced to death were never executed, and some had their estates restored to them; but he displayed his arbitrary power in one remarkable instance, which was by prohibiting the publication of any books or papers in Dublin, till they had been inspected and approved of, by a person appointed to examine them. The duties of this examiner must have been little more than nominal, since there was but one printer in all Dublin, and most probably he was the only one in Ireland; for although a printing press was set up in Kilkenny when the council assembled there, I believe it was not kept at work afterwards.

During the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, Ireland was governed by his son Henry, who was much beloved for his amiable disposition and good administration. Soon after the death of his father, however, he resigned his high office, happy, like his brother, Richard, to retire from the cares and fatigues of public life, to the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity; for neither of these young men possessed the ambition that had exalted their parent to the rank of a sovereign; and, perhaps, they were more to be envied than he was, with all his greatness.

This conquest of Ireland in many respects resembled that of England by the Normans, when the land was taken away from its rightful owners to pay the soldiers for their services. As the dispossessed Saxons fled to the forests, and formed bands of robbers, so the Irish sought refuge in their woods and bogs and hills, whence they issued to drive

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away the cattle, and commit ravages in the open country. They were called Rapparees, in allusion to their carrying on wars on a small scale, *ee* and *een* being used in the Irish language as diminutives; and they became so formidable, that large rewards were offered by the government for their heads, the price for that of a captain being one hundred guineas, and for that of a common Rapparee, forty; therefore the soldiers were very anxious to capture them. But they were not easily caught, and it was extremely dangerous to follow them, because their pursuers, who were not very well acquainted with the ground, were often lost in the bogs; for in some places, although the surface might appear firm to the eye, and be overgrown with grass or moss, yet it would prove so soft, that a person treading on it would immediately sink to such a depth that he would be suffocated. Many of these bogs still remain in the state here described, and cattle are frequently lost in them.

The bogs of Ireland form one of the most remarkable features of the country. They cover about two millions of acres, extending sometimes up the mountains to the very summit, and are mostly found in places where large forests once stood; as is proved by the remains of trees that are still buried under them, the wood of which is exceedingly valuable for furniture. The bog water acts as a preservative upon substances that lie long in it; so that animals and human bodies that must have lain there, perhaps for ages, have been dug up in a perfect state, the skin being tanned like leather. All wood seems to be improved by these waters, so that bog-timber fetches a high price, because it is more durable, and bears a finer polish than ordinary wood. During the visit of George the Fourth to Ireland in the year 1820, a mether, or Irish drinking vessel, exquisitely carved in bog oak, was presented to him; it had all the appearance of the most beautiful ebony.

The prevalence of bog-land in Ireland may be thus ac-

counted for: The soil is extremely moist, and abounds in springs, which are mostly dry in summer, when the grass and weeds grow thickly about them. In winter, these springs swell and run; and then they loosen the earth around, and rot the roots of the grass, which again dries in the hot weather, and new grass springs through it. As the fresh grass is not cleared away, it is again during the next winter lifted up and loosened by the rising of the water, which again rots the new grass that grew in the summer, and a still thicker substance is formed. This process being repeated every year, the spring becomes more and more impeded; so that having no vent outwardly, it finds its way underneath the surface, while the crust of vegetable matter that is formed at the top, becomes thicker and thicker, and is every winter forced still higher, by the swelling of the spring beneath.

The crust of an old bog is sometimes ten or twelve feet in thickness, and, where it is firm enough, forms a very good soil for growing corn. The surface is generally covered with moss, except at the edges, where grass often grows; which tempts the cattle by its fresh appearance, so that sometimes they tread upon a part that is unsound, through which they sink, and are lost. As the mud and slime of the water mix with the rotted roots of grass at the bottom of the bog, a thick black substance is formed, which, when left dry in summer, is dug up for fuel, and burns very well. The bogs where this is produced are called peat or turf bogs.

Bog-land is usually much higher than other ground, which is easily accounted for, by its being constantly forced up by the action of the water under it; and this is the reason why trees are found so far below its surface. If the springs had always been kept free from weeds and grass, it is probable there would have been no bogs in Ireland, and even now they may be, and are, in some places, drained

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and made firm, and then they become the best land in the country for tillage.

The bogs are met with chiefly in the centre of Ireland, extending from west to east. The largest is the Bog of Allen, which is not one continuous morass, but a succession of bogs intersected with ridges of firm dry land. Some fine roads have been made at a great expense through the district of Allen, and there are many parts that might be traversed with safety; but it requires a perfect acquaintance with the country to know where these safe places are, for the surface of the most dangerous places is overgrown with moss, and sometimes look firms to the eye. The traveller who should be imprudent enough to venture on bog-land without a guide, would most probably be lost.

That the bogs did not exist in the earliest ages, is quite clear from the nature of objects that are occasionally found in them; such as weapons that were in use among the ancient inhabitants, and were probably left on some battle field; gold-chains, and other ornaments with which they were fond of adorning themselves; boats, wooden tubs, such as the ancient Irish were in the habit of using as receptacles for their butter; and various other curious relics. But the most singular relic was a house of ancient construction, which was discovered not very many years ago, at the bottom of a bog in the county of Donegal. It had all the appearance of a house newly built, and some workmens' tools were found near it; therefore it had, perhaps, been overwhelmed by the descent of a bog from the mountains, which is not an uncommon accident, in Ireland, and is as destructive as an avalanche.

When Charles the Second was restored to the throne, fresh difficulties arose with regard to the division of lands in Ireland, for the unpaid soldiers who had fought in his cause, and in his father's army, now came forward, expecting to be remunerated for their services, by grants in the conquered

country. Some disagreements took place between the English and Irish parliaments on the subject; and at length it was settled by their authority, that those who had received grants from Oliver Cromwell, should give up one-third of them, which, together with the four counties that had been kept at the disposal of the government, should be parcelled out among the new claimants, except such estates as were to be restored to loyalist noblemen, such as Lord Ormond and others, who had been dispossessed on account of their taking part against the English parliament in favour of the king. Lord Ormond was re-appointed lord lieutenant, but he did not retain that office many years.

At this period, there was so little gold and silver in Ireland, that cattle were used instead of coin, a cow or ox being there usually reckoned for twenty shillings; a sheep for two shillings; and great numbers were exported to, and sold in, the English markets. It was, therefore, a serious grievance when this king, for whose restoration the people had suffered so much, and had so hardly fought against the English parliament, passed a law, that no cattle should be imported into England from Ireland, and that no Irish goods of any description should be exported to Spain or Portugal, without a very heavy duty being paid to him upon them. These oppressive laws with regard to their trade, reduced the agricultural people of Ireland to great distress, producing several insurrections there; and caused such injury to the commerce and manufactures of England, that, at last, the king was obliged to alter them, and permit free-trading again; but as the Scots' landowners had also procured a law to be passed in their parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle and corn into their markets, the Irish parliament, by passing another law in retaliation, was allowed to forbid the purchasing of Scottish manufactures in Ireland.

Commerce being thus re-established between Ireland and England, Lord Ormond, who had again become lord lieute-

the history
of the
United States



Engraved by Lavoport.

THE ENTRY OF JAMES 2nd INTO DUBLIN
Engraved by Gibbons.
London, Loan & C° 35 Threadneedle Street
1689.

nant, exerted himself to establish manufactures; and for this purpose, he procured workmen from England, France, and the Netherlands, established linen and woollen factories, a manufactory of Norwich stuffs at Clonmel, and another of friezes, at Carrick.

In a few years, the good duke of Ormond was displaced to make room for the earl of Tyrconnel, by James the Second, who was desirous of promoting the Catholic religion in Ireland, and of placing Catholics in all the high offices; that the country might be an asylum for persons of that religion, and also for himself, in case the English people should arise against his authority, as they had done against Charles the First, of which there had appeared symptoms. Those who are acquainted with the History of England, know that James the Second was deposed in favour of the prince of Orange, and that he sought shelter with Louis the Fourteenth, in France. They may also remember, that the French king furnished him with a fleet of ships and an army, with which he sailed to Ireland in the hope of regaining his crown by the aid of his Irish subjects, great numbers of whom were disposed to support him.

James landed at Kinsale on the 17th of March, 1689, and was gladly received by his lord lieutenant, the earl of Tyrconnel, who had contrived to disarm the Protestants, and raise an army of 40,000 Catholic soldiers, who accompanied James to Dublin, where he was met by a procession of the Catholic clergy in their robes. He immediately called a parliament, and issued proclamations, commanding all his subjects, under pain of being declared rebels, to unite against the prince of Orange; but his proceedings were very tyrannical, for he dismissed from the council of state all Protestant members, forbade the worship of the Protestant religion, and ordered that provisions should be brought for his army, and paid for in a debased coin; that is, he had bad money made, and obliged the people to take it instead of good.

This debasement of the coin by James was carried to such an extent, that old brass cannons were melted down, and coined into pieces of about fourpence in real value, which the poor farmers whom, by his proclamations he compelled to provide food for the soldiers, were obliged to take for five pounds each. The soldiers also were paid in this money, which was sufficiently serviceable for their purpose; since they could, with arms in their hands, force the people to sell goods to them, and make them take the brass pieces in exchange at their nominal value. It is said the king made forced purchases of an immense quantity of goods in the same way, and sent them to France for his own use, in case he should be obliged to return to that country.

But one of his most violent measures was that of repealing the Act of Settlement; by doing which, he deprived of their property all those who had obtained lands or houses under that act. Even those who had honestly purchased land from the persons to whom it had been granted, were compelled to give it up, with all the improvements and buildings they had made on it, without receiving back any part of the money they had paid for it.

Such arbitrary proceedings could not fail to excite the resentment of the people, and many of the towns of Ulster, where the chief part of the population were Protestants, took up arms against the king, who sent the troops which had been raised by Tyrconnel, and a large body of French soldiers, into the province, to punish as rebels all who resisted his authority; and many were executed with few of the forms of law. The most memorable event of this campaign was the siege of Londonderry, the citizens of which town were all Protestants; and had shut their gates, determined to perish rather than submit to lose their property, or abandon their religion. Into this city, great numbers of Protestant families had fled for refuge at the approach of James's army, to the number of 30,000 souls; the garrison

consisted of about 7,361 men, ill supplied with provisions. The governor, Lundy, who was in James's interest, would not defend the city, and was, in consequence, turned out by the spirited inhabitants, who elected a clergyman as governor, and a Major Baker as commander, making the best preparations they could for its defence.

James's army, amounting to 20,000 men, cannonaded the place for eleven days; but the garrison made so many sudden and destructive sallies, that despairing to take the place by storm, he returned to Dublin, leaving his army to surround the city, and cut off its supplies, calculating that famine and disease would oblige the inhabitants to surrender.

The town was closely besieged by James's troops for three months; and the people within were reduced to such extremity, that they were obliged to eat horses, cats, dogs, rats, and mice; still they would not surrender, for they were in daily expectation of succours from England. At last Marshal Rosen, a French officer, who conducted the siege in the absence of James, declared that if the city was not given up by a certain day, all the Protestants in the country should be driven under the walls, and kept there till they perished with hunger. The day arrived, but the gates of Londonderry being still closed, all the Protestants for miles round, were collected together, without regard to age or sex, and driven by the soldiers like a herd of cattle to the walls of the city.

On the first appearance of this terrified and shrieking multitude, the garrison fired on them in mistake, thinking they were enemies; but as soon as they discovered the truth, they were filled with rage and indignation. Three days were these miserable people kept under the walls of the town, without a morsel of food or shelter, and many of them had perished, when an order came from James for their release; but they were so enfeebled by their sufferings, that very few survived. It does not appear that James had any

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previous knowledge of this cruel and disgraceful transaction, the odium of which ought to fall on his French general, Marshal Rosen.

The citizens were by this time so reduced by famine, that it had become hardly possible that they should hold out for another day, and their only hope was, that provisions and reinforcements of troops would arrive speedily from England; in the mean time, the clergymen, both churchmen and dissenters, endeavoured to keep up their spirits by daily encouraging them to have patience; and they succeeded in increasing their determination never to yield.

The city had been besieged from the 17th of April; when on the 30th of July, three ships were seen in Lough Foyle. On these vessels the eyes of both the besiegers and the besieged were anxiously fixed. The attempt to approach the city was extremely difficult and hazardous; and the besiegers did everything in their power to increase the difficulty and danger. Where the lake narrowed, its banks were lined with batteries; and a boom, formed as strong as it could be made, was stretched across this narrow part of it. It was therefore essential that this boom should be broken before the vessels could possibly approach. One of the vessels came near it. All eyes were fixed on the event. Sailing with considerable velocity, she broke the boom. The besieged were almost intoxicated with joy, when the next moment their joy was changed to despair, on observing the vessel on shore, in consequence of the rebound given her in breaking the boom. The next moment, the recoil of her guns, which were fired on the besiegers as they attempted to take possession of her, again set her afloat. The garrison was now relieved from famine; and as on famine alone James's troops depended for success, they immediately retired, having lost 8,000 men. Of the 7,360 men of which the garrison consisted, 4,300 survived, but a large portion of them were incapable of service.

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The gallant defence of Londonderry was conducted by a clergyman, named Walker, who, after the siege had been raised, went to London to present an address from the citizens to the king and queen, who presented him with five thousand pounds; and the parliament voted ten thousand more for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in defending the town.

In the mean time, troops had arrived from England, under the command of the duke of Schomberg, one of William's foreign generals, and at last came King William himself, who landed at Belfast on the 14th of June, and was met there by Marshal Schomberg, when their united forces amounted to 36,000 men, and in a few days they marched against King James.

James had not taken possession of any ports where his troops might have harassed or resisted William's army, but had crossed the Boyne, and waited to give battle to his opponents. On the first of July, William's troops passed the river in three places, and after great carnage on both sides, and the loss of many superior officers, James's army was routed, and retreated to Athlone, from whence he himself proceeded to Dublin, and thence to Waterford, and returned to France.

William's army pursued, and invested Athlone, but he was obliged to raise the siege; and passed on to Limerick, where James's adherents had concentrated their forces with a strong garrison of French and Irish. William also invested this place, and commanded in person; the attack and defence were conducted with the greatest bravery and resolution. Even after a breach had been made in the walls by his cannon, William lost one thousand two hundred chosen troops in one assault; and in two days after, he raised the siege, the army retreating under very miserable circumstances. He had lost a considerable part of his army in an unsuccessful attack on the town, and he had a great

number of wounded men, for whom no conveyance could be obtained; they were, therefore compelled to walk, or lie down to die, though it rained heavily, and the mud was in many places knee-deep, from a sudden overflowing of the Shannon. As the wretched and dispirited soldiers moved slowly along, they were joined by a still more melancholy train, consisting of the Protestant inhabitants of Limerick and the surrounding country, who were forced to abandon their homes, and had followed the retreating army with their wives, children, servants, and what household goods they had been able to bring with them. In this manner, they proceeded to Clonmel, where King William transferred the command to General Ginckle, and returned to England. The first general, Schomberg, was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

It reflects much honour on the monarch, that he shared in all the hardships endured by his soldiers, without allowing himself indulgences which could not be extended to all. One day being asked to sign an order for wine for his own table, and knowing that no more could be procured than would be sufficient for himself, and, perhaps, two or three of his superior officers, he returned the paper, merely saying, "I shall drink water."

Upon the departure of James, jealousy and discord broke out openly, and to such an extent between the French and Irish, that Louis the Fourteenth recalled his troops, and Tyrconnel, James's lord lieutenant, went with them to France, to defend himself against the charges of one of two violent parties into which his own countrymen had become divided. Towards the end of the summer, Cork and Kinsale were bombarded, and surrendered at discretion to the earl of Marlborough; and the winter coming on, added the inclemency of weather to the famine that the unarmed inhabitants were suffering through the destruction of their cattle and corn, by both parties.

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In the early part of the summer of 1690, Tyrconnel returned from France, with considerable reinforcements under the command of the French general St. Ruth, who encamped near Athlone for its defence, in which city Tyrconnel fell sick, and died of a broken heart. This strongly fortified town, occupying both sides of the river Shannon, was now attacked by William's troops; when notice was sent by the Irish commander, Sarsfield, to the French general, who nevertheless did not march to its relief in time to save it; for great masses of men, supported by a train of artillery, plunged into the stream, amidst a most destructive fire from the Irish batteries, and took the town after about an hour's hard fighting.

When too late, the French general came up, and attempted to retake the place, but failed; and retreated to Aughrim, where he was attacked by the Protestant army, and while in the act of leading on his men, he was killed by a chain shot, which is still preserved in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. On his death, the command devolved on Sarsfield, who not being on good terms with the French general, had not been entrusted by St. Ruth with the intended operations of the battle; and both French and Irish were consequently routed, and fled to Limerick; losing, it is said, above 7,000 men.

Limerick, like Athlone, stands on both sides of the river Shannon; the Protestant forces invested it by land and water; and after many desperate attacks and fierce engagements, with dreadful carnage and great loss of life, it became plain to James's adherents that there was no hope of ultimate success; wherefore the Irish, after some delay, proposed terms of peace, which, with some alterations, were accepted by General Ginkle, and a treaty was signed on the third of October, 1691.

By the treaty of Limerick, it was settled that all castles and forts in the possession of James's forces should be given

up; that the Catholics should enjoy such privileges as to the exercise of their religion as they had enjoyed in the time of Charles the Second; that all Irishmen who had served in the army of James the Second should be freely pardoned; that every lord and gentleman should be allowed to carry arms for the defence of his house and person, or his amusement in sporting; that the garrison should march out of Limerick with all the honours of war; and that all those of the troops who preferred entering into foreign service to remaining in Ireland, might retire with their property to any country they should select, in ships to be provided for them at the expense of the British government.

FROM THE TREATY OF LIMERICK
TO
THE REBELLION.

1691 to 1798.

FROM the time of the treaty of Limerick to the reign of George the Third, Ireland remained at peace: but the blessings that peace should have brought were felt only in a limited degree. It is true that trade soon revived; but such regulations and restraints were placed upon it by King William's parliament, that the Irish people did not benefit as they might have done by the increase of their commerce; and although the re-establishment of the manufactures certainly contributed towards the prosperity of the country, still the people were prevented from reaping the full reward of their industry, on account of the laws that were made to prevent them from sending their goods to any foreign countries they pleased, where they could find the best markets

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for them; and their wool was allowed to be exported only to England.

When peace was concluded, it was expected that one of William's first acts would have been to summon an Irish parliament; this, however, he neglected to do until it was necessary to raise money; and in the mean time, the English parliament legislated for Ireland; and many important acts were passed during that time; among these, was one excluding Catholics from both houses of parliament. At length, when, in 1692, the Irish legislature met, the Commons appeared far more disposed to assert their rights than William expected, and carried their opposition to some of his measures so far, that he dissolved the parliament, in hopes of finding the next more amenable to his views; and in this he was not altogether disappointed. By this second Irish parliament, the treaty of Limerick was confirmed.

The manner in which the government of Ireland was at that time conducted, formed another source of grievance. The lord lieutenant did not visit the country above once in two years; but left the management of affairs to the chancellor, the archbishop of Armagh, and a few others belonging to the leading families. The parliament also, which used formerly to be re-elected every year, was, after James's unsuccessful attempt at conquest, continued during the life of King William; so that however dissatisfied the people might be with the conduct of their representatives, they had no opportunity of choosing better ones, till the death of the sovereign should occasion a new election; besides which, Poyning's law was still in force, by which no act passed in the Irish parliament became valid, until it had been approved of by the legislature of England; but the Irish parliament passed some penal statutes against the Catholics, which were rendered still more severe in the reign of Queen Anne; and, in the year 1727, persons professing that religion were totally deprived of the elective franchise.

When, in 1745, Scotland and a great part of England were convulsed by the adherents of the house of Stuart, much apprehension was felt with regard to the course the people of Ireland would pursue on that occasion: and, in consequence, the celebrated earl of Chesterfield was appointed lord lieutenant, who, by his judicious administration and discountenancing all party distinctions, kept the Irish in a state of perfect tranquillity, and prevented them from even indulging a wish to favour the cause of the exiled family.

Immediately before the accession of George the Third, considerable alarm was excited by the preparations which were making by the French for an invasion of Great Britain and Ireland; but the only attempt made was the landing of about 600 men at Carrickfergus, and those were speedily driven back to their ships by the peasantry, assisted by a few soldiers.

There were now very few of the old Irish families of any note remaining, except younger branches of them, most of whom were destined to sink into poverty. The older members had either sought military employment in different countries on the Continent, or had entered into trade in some of the commercial cities of France, Spain, or England.

The most wealthy and flourishing part of Ireland was, at this period, and has ever since been, the province of Ulster, because it was the chief seat of the linen trade; which was the only branch of industry that was much encouraged. Extensive manufactories were established in every county of this province, affording plenty of employment for the peasantry; as the women could spin the flax, the men weave, and the boys and girls could work in the bleaching-fields. The labouring people of Ulster were therefore in much better circumstances than those of the south, who had depended chiefly on agriculture, and who were now reduced to great distress for want of employment, because so much of the land was turned into pasture for cattle, that the quantity under tillage was comparatively small.

The great export trade of Ireland consisted in salted provisions, such as bacon, pork, beef, butter, and fish; but this served to enrich the grazing landowners, and the merchants, rather than the peasantry, numbers of whom had few other means of existence left to them but that of growing for themselves a scanty provision of potatoes, for the maintenance of themselves and a pig or two, and such work as they could get at planting times. Such was the general state of Ireland till the reign of George the Third; who ascended the throne in the year 1760, about seventy years from the time of the treaty of Limerick.

In the first years of his reign, some laudable attempts were made by the Irish parliament to create employment for distressed labourers, by granting sums of money for several useful public works. Among these, an act was passed, enabling companies to construct two lines of canal, which now extend from Dublin to the Shannon; and a sum of money was granted to them with which they might commence the works; but the greater part of the funds required were raised from the public, on what were called canal debentures, which, owing to the failure of the speculation, brought ruin on hundreds of respectable individuals.

But these improvements only afforded partial relief to some of the thousands of miserable beings who required food and shelter. The Irish parliament had never passed laws, nor adopted any means, to provide for the aged, the infirm, and the destitute; so that no alternative was left to them but to beg, steal, or starve; except the family could obtain a small piece of ground on which they might grow potatoes; and then they had the greatest difficulty in producing enough to serve for their own food and to pay their rent.

Many of the great landholders were absentees, that is, they dwelt in England, or on the continent, instead of being present on their own estates; only paying a visit to Ireland

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once a year, to attend the parliament; whilst they left the management of their Irish property to agents; and these agents were generally men who had taken the appointment on purpose to make as much profit as they could out of it for the landowners and themselves; so that they seldom showed any indulgence towards the poor tenants; but forced them to pay their rents, even though they should be left without food for themselves and their children.

About this time, too, the distresses of the peasantry were exceedingly increased by laws passed by the Irish parliament, for the enclosure of certain pieces of land, called "commons," in which every poor person, previously to that time, had enjoyed a certain degree of right. Those who were fortunate enough to possess a few sheep, a cow or two, or a donkey, had been allowed to feed them on these commons, which enabled the people to live, and pay, with less difficulty, their rents; but when this privilege was taken away, by the enclosure of the commons for the benefit of the landholders within or adjoining whose domains they were situated, the poor people were in a much worse condition than previously. Numbers of such acts, for the same purpose, had been made in England by the English parliament, and always with the same result of enriching the landowners, and impoverishing the labourers; but there the poor rates were enforced, which saved the poor from being reduced to a state of starvation.

Besides the high rent exacted for the piece of potato ground, every man had to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy; which was considered a great hardship, for most of the peasantry in all parts of the country were Catholics, who thought it unreasonable that they should pay for the support of ministers of a religion different from their own. With such drawbacks of rent, tithes, and loss of commonage, a man had very little left out of the produce of his scanty tenement to feed himself, his wife, and children,

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whilst their clothing became, as may be imagined, of the most miserable description.

After this account, you will not be surprised to hear that these oppressed people used to assemble in the night, to take revenge on those whom they regarded as the cause of all their misery. They pulled down the fences of the enclosed commons, by which they obtained the name of Levellers; but afterwards they were called White Boys, because they wore white shirts outside their clothes, as a sort of uniform, by which they might know each other in the night.

The White Boys soon began to commit worse outrages than that of pulling down fences; for they killed several of the tithe collectors, and the agents who gathered in the rents for the landlords; and many of these unfortunate and misguided men were tried and executed for the crimes of which they had been guilty; but no part of the commons was restored; nor was any thing else done to alleviate the distresses that had driven the people to the commission of such deeds. Even in Ulster, where the people generally were in much easier circumstances than in Leinster and Munster, there were causes of dissatisfaction.

One of the grievances complained of was, a tax by which every housekeeper, however poor, and though only the possessor of a little cabin, was made responsible for the mending of the roads, and was obliged either to work on them himself, during six days of the year, or to find a man for that purpose, as well as a horse, if he had one. This was a most oppressive law for the small farmers and poor cottagers, to whom six days' labour was of material consequence. Besides, the burthen fell entirely on the poor, while the rich were gainers; for many of the roads that were thus kept in repair belonged to private individuals, who ought to have employed labourers for the work, at a fair rate of wages.

This tax had long been a cause of discontent, and, at last,

the inhabitants of a small parish in the county of Armagh declared that they would not work on a new road that was about to be made; and the example having been once set, it was soon followed in every village throughout the province, and some serious disturbances took place in consequence; so that it was necessary to employ the military to reduce the insurgents to order. Those who joined in this insurrection called themselves "Hearts of Oak," and were distinguished by wearing small oaken boughs in their hats. They gained their object, for the tax was abolished; and the roads were afterwards kept in repair by a rate levied on all the inhabitants, rich and poor, according to their means.

But other and greater causes of distress were now about to be felt in Ulster; for the linen trade, that great source of comfort and prosperity, experienced a sad reverse, in consequence of the breaking out of the American war. America was the great market for Irish linens, of which immense quantities were sent out every year from England; for the Irish were not then allowed to trade directly with the Americans, as they have done since the Union; but they were obliged to send their goods to England, whence they were exported to the colonies; but when, by the breaking out of the American war, the trade between England and America was destroyed, the linen weavers found there was comparatively little demand for their goods.

Three-fourths of the looms were consequently stopped, and the deep distress thereby occasioned, forced a great number of families to emigrate. It is supposed that, in the course of two years, thirty thousand people left Ulster to go to America; where many joined in the war against the English, forming a large proportion of the American troops. Among these emigrants, about ten thousand were weavers; who took their implements with them, and set up linen manufactories in the United States.

While this war was proceeding, the intercourse between

Great Britain and Ireland was also much interrupted by French and American cruizers, that infested the narrow seas which divide these two islands, for the express purpose of interrupting the communication between them; so that the Irish could not send their goods, as usual, to England, for fear they should be seized by these privateer vessels; and to add to these misfortunes, they were, at this time, not allowed to send ships to Spain or Portugal, with cargoes of salted meat, fish, and butter, lest the French should seize them, and get provisions to victual the fleets which they were about sending out to assist the Americans.

During this time, the Irish had been vainly petitioning parliament to remove the restrictions that had been so unjustly laid upon their trade. They entreated the English government to allow them permission to manufacture their own wool, and to send their manufactured goods, as well as the produce of their country, to any part of the world where they could find a market for them, or obtain goods in return, that they might have the same opportunities of living by their industry as were enjoyed by the people of other nations. But this request, reasonable as it seems, was refused; and, at last, the people of Ireland, feeling that they were treated with injustice, began to think of obtaining by force what was denied to their humble petitions.

A considerable part of the army stationed in Ireland had been sent to America, to assist in the war; and as it was apprehended that the French, who were fighting for the Americans, might invade Ireland, numerous companies of volunteers were formed to protect the country. Noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, farmers, and tradesmen, all became soldiers. They chose their own officers, purchased their own uniforms, and assembled regularly on parade to practise the use of arms. The number of volunteers soon amounted to above fifty thousand. A formidable army had thus imperceptibly sprung up in Ireland, well armed and well disci-

plined; and they resolved to assert their rights, and, if necessary, to fight for them, as the Americans were doing.

A resolution to that effect was addressed by these troops to the king; and in the mean time, the parliament of Ireland came to a determination to admit no produce or manufacture of England into Ireland, until the Irish commerce should be freed from all restraints. This was exactly what the Americans did at the beginning of the war; so that the British manufacturers and merchants, who had now lost two of their best markets, began to exert all their influence in favour of free trade for Ireland; and the government agreed that the Irish should be allowed to export their own woollen manufactures and glass ware, and to import goods from the British colonies in America and Africa, on paying the same duties as were paid in England; and they were permitted also to import from Italy organzine or twisted silk, which they used in making poplin and tabinet, the most beautiful of all the Irish manufactures.

The English parliament had, prior to this, passed laws, granting liberty to the Catholics to hold landed property; and the duration of parliaments in Ireland had, by the same authority, been limited to eight years; but these concessions were not enough to satisfy the people, and a meeting of deputies from the different corps of volunteers was held at Dungarvon; and having declared that none but Irishmen should make any laws for Ireland, they drew up a Bill of Rights, and demanded an independent parliament. After some deliberation on the part of the English government, this was also granted, and Poyning's law was repealed.

The most serious evils which had pressed on the middle and upper classes, were now redressed; but there still existed causes of dissatisfaction among the poor, which the Irish parliament were either unable or unwilling to remove; absenteeism to as great an extent as ever, and exactions of excessive rents by land agents, still continued; no laws for

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security of tenancy, nor to reimburse tenants for improvements made on their lands, were ever passed; nor was any thing done either towards the abolition or modification of tithes; the last of which, being all raised on cultivated, and not on grazing land, occasioned many insurrections among the labouring cultivators.

A dreadful insurrection broke out in the counties of Cork and Kerry; where the peasantry marched about in large parties, calling themselves Right Boys, and compelling every body to take an oath that they would not pay more than a certain sum per acre for tithes. At first, very little notice was taken of the Right Boys, because they carried no arms; but by degrees they grew more riotous, insisted that wages should be increased, and rents lowered, and opposed the collection of the government tax, called hearth-money; therefore, when it was found they were proceeding to such lengths, an act was passed by the Irish parliament, to prohibit them from assembling; and as they continued to do so, in defiance of the law, the military were sent to disperse them, and some violent conflicts took place.

FROM

THE REBELLION TO THE UNION.

1798 to 1800.

AFTER the repeal of the most odious portions of the penal laws by the English parliament, in the early part of the reign of George the Third, other laws, beneficial to Ireland, were gradually passed; and very large sums out of the taxes had frequently been voted; both by the English and Irish parliaments, for various public works; as for the repairing of old, and the making of new roads, and other communica-

tions from one part of Ireland to another, with a view to the employment of the people, and the improvement of the country, which was therefore much benefited, whilst the value of property was enhanced and increased; but owing to continual agitations, the labouring population were relieved only so long as the works were going on; and although numbers of the working classes yearly emigrated to London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and other manufacturing places, where they permanently settled; and bodies of the agricultural population were accustomed regularly to traverse England almost from one end to the other, to raise something towards the payment of their excessive rents, by assisting the English farmers to get in the harvests; still agricultural labour and agricultural people became more and more depressed. As land increased in value, bills for the enclosure of commons increased in the Irish parliament; and it appeared as if the poor could never contend against the high rents of lands, and the privations consequent on the loss of their commons.

The people of Ireland still continued in possession of their separate parliament in Dublin, but whether its power for doing good was limited, or the leading men had not knowledge of the proper means to relieve the wants of the people, certainly while the value of land had doubled within the last forty years, the condition of the great body of those who may be considered as the labouring classes, became gradually worse.

The American war was now over; and the Irish observed that the Americans, with the aid of their French allies, had been enabled to establish such a form of government as was most agreeable to themselves; the French, too, had more recently accomplished the great revolution, which had relieved the body of the people from the distinctions existing in favour of the nobles and clergy, and from the injustice of the corvée, or forced labour, in repairing the

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roads, and the remnants of feudal oppressions, under which resolution, an absolute monarchy was converted into a republic. These examples stimulated the agitating politicians of Ireland to excite their countrymen, (especially those of the agricultural classes suffering through want of constant employment, and the uncertain tenure of their little holdings,) to join them in endeavouring to establish a republican government in Ireland.

This spirit of disaffection and desire for a republican form of government, was not confined to the poor peasantry, but prevailed among all classes of the community; and in the year 1791, a society was instituted in Dublin, called the United Irishmen, whose secret object was to collect together, into different associations, as many of their countrymen as possible, in various parts of the kingdom, and as soon as they should feel strong enough in numbers, to make a bold effort to separate Ireland entirely from England, and constitute it an independent republic.

A body of national guards was instituted in Dublin, as in Paris; and they provided themselves with a green uniform, having on the buttons a harp, under a cap of liberty, which was a revolutionary symbol; this uniform, however, was not worn in public; but from information received, the English government became alarmed, and employed spies to gain intelligence of the proceedings of the United Irishmen, who had hitherto carried on their plans with profound secrecy. It was discovered that they were in correspondence with the heads of the French republic, who had engaged to assist the revolutionists with troops and money, and that the plot was nearly ripe for bursting out. As soon as the spies had acquired and given information of this circumstance, the government of England, as if to make up for their previous remissness, adopted the most severe measures for discovering and suppressing, the whole plot.

One of the first measures was to suspend the Habeas

Corpus Act; but in case you should not exactly understand what this means, I will tell you. The Habeas Corpus Act passed in 1680, is a law by which no one can be imprisoned without being made acquainted with the cause of his imprisonment, nor be detained in prison without being brought to trial. This law was made because people used frequently in former times to be kept in confinement for years, or perhaps for their whole lives, and were not informed what crime was imputed to them, nor ever brought to trial; so that they had no opportunity of proving their innocence, or regaining their liberty; which was both cruel and unjust. However, government has sometimes ordered the Habeas Corpus Act to be suspended; and, during such suspension, any person may be carried away from his house and put into prison, and kept there, without any reason being assigned, either for his arrest or detention.

Such was now the case in Ireland. All who were suspected of knowing any thing about the revolutionary plot were seized and thrown into prison, where numbers of them were cruelly flogged, and otherwise ill-treated, to make them confess all they knew concerning it. The whole of the conspiracy was thus discovered, and thirteen of the principal conspirators were arrested, some of them gentlemen of high respectability; while a proclamation was issued, declaring Ireland to be in a state of rebellion, and directing that the most summary means should be taken by the government troops for its suppression; which was, in other words, giving permission to the soldiers to commit outrages with impunity.

The plan of the conspirators having been thus discovered, and some of them arrested, the rest of the leaders saw that their only hope of success was in a general rising of the people who were on their side, and a struggle for the cause in which they had engaged. This plan was adopted but

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the insurgents in many places were soon defeated, and gave up their arms in terror.

The county of Wexford at last became the principal scene of rebellion, and many battles were fought between the revolutionists and the royalists, the last of which was a celebrated engagement that took place near a spot called Vinegar-hill, when the revolutionists were totally defeated, and their hopes of independence crushed for ever.

The Irish had certainly been treated with the utmost barbarity during this rebellion. They had been imprisoned, tortured, driven from their homes, their houses had been burnt down, and their property destroyed by the yeomanry; women and children had been inhumanly murdered; and, indeed, there was scarcely any species of cruelty that had not been put in practice against them. But the United Irishmen do not seem to have been backward in retaliating all these cruelties upon the royalists, whenever an opportunity offered; so that it would be difficult to say which party exhibited the greatest want of humanity; or caused the greatest amount of wretchedness and suffering.

The defeat at Vinegar hill, however, proved a death-blow to the revolutionists, who thus lost all hopes of establishing a republic in Ireland. The arrival of Lord Cornwallis with a general pardon for all who had rebelled, at length restored tranquillity. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had taken a prominent part in the rebellion, died in prison from the effects of a wound received at the time of his capture; and several gentlemen of family and fortune were executed at the commencement of the rebellion, but no executions took place after its suppression; and the principal historical event that now remains to be told of Ireland, is the union of that country with Great Britain, which took place in the year 1800.

As soon as the war was over, the English government came to a resolution, that the best means of securing the

future dependence of Ireland, was to establish one legislative assembly for the whole kingdom, by admitting Irish members into the English houses of parliament, as though their country formed a portion of England; and such advantages were held out to the Irish people to gain their consent to this arrangement, that although great opposition was made at first, it was eventually agreed to; and since that time, there has been held in London one parliament for the United Kingdom. The representatives for Ireland consist of four bishops and twenty-eight peers in the House of Lords; and one hundred members in the House of Commons, who are elected in the same manner as the members of parliament are in England.

I should have mentioned, that during the ten years which preceded the union, the Catholics had been put in possession of greater privileges than they had enjoyed since the time of Charles the Second; for although William the Third had promised to restore many of their rights, he had failed to do so; and it was not till some time after the parliament of Ireland had been made independent of that of England, in the year 1782, that Catholics were allowed to practise the law, to marry Protestants, or to vote for members of parliament; but still no Catholic could become a member of parliament himself; nor was this privilege obtained till many years afterwards.

It was at first expected that the union would have produced the happiest consequences, as it gave to the people of Ireland that freedom of trade with all the world which they had so long desired; Ireland, instead of being, as formerly, a dependency of England, having became a portion of Great Britain, its people enjoying all the rights and privileges of British subjects. However, notwithstanding these advantages, the measure was not productive of that tranquillity and prosperity which had been expected. The country, for some time afterwards, became the scene of insurrections

and outrages, proceeding either from religious animosity, political jealousy, the feuds of clans, or from the severe privations to which the peasantry were subjected by the exactions of persons called middlemen, interposed between them and the landowners. The middlemen were those who took large farms from the landlords, and let them in small farms to other parties, at a rack-rent, that is to say, let them at a rent considerably beyond the value of the land; which was a great discouragement to every kind of industry, as the farmer could seldom do more than pay his rent, and barely maintain himself and family, during his occupation of the farm; and so little did the Irish landowners in general care for the improvement of their estates, and the comfort and prosperity of their tenants, that we continually even still read in the Irish papers, advertisements for the letting of land, in which it is stated that the preference will be given to the highest bidder; and to such a height had this system arisen, that, together with the competition of the peasantry for small farms, as their only means of support, land advanced in price beyond its former value.

In the towns, also, considerable distress was felt for a long time, because owing to the almost uninterrupted internal commotions by which the country was disturbed, its trading, commercial, and manufacturing establishments were unable to compete with those of England, with whom they were now placed on an equality. The latter, from long internal peace, having accumulated unlimited capital, were enabled to offer such advantages to the Irish merchants and shopkeepers, both as regarded cheapness and credit, that the Irish market was almost continually supplied from England, which, of course, left the working people of the towns without employment; and although the removal of the restrictions and protective duties produced an immediate benefit to all buyers and users of manufactures, and would, in time, have given stability to the trade of the country; yet

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uneducated mechanics could not be expected to reason like skilful political economists; they only felt that they could not obtain employment, and wanted food; and there were no poor-laws for the relief of destitute persons. They therefore frequently assembled in large mobs, and walked in procession through the streets parading their misery, and committing depredations in the various provision shops; and it was by no means uncommon for the baker's carts to be guarded by policemen as they proceeded through the streets.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that frequent riots should have been the consequence, and that illegal associations were continually formed, while the government, instead of adopting some measures to improve the condition of the working people, endeavoured to suppress the spirit of insubordination by severity. A large military force was stationed in the country, and the Insurrection Act was frequently put in force, giving power to the lord lieutenant to proclaim any district in a state of rebellion, on the declaration of a majority of seven justices of the peace. When this proclamation had been made, all persons in that district were obliged to keep within their houses before and after certain hours specified.

These coercive measures, and the continued poverty of great masses of people, caused a meeting to be held at Dublin, in the year 1810, to consult on the subject of dissolving the union; and thus arose the great question of "repeal" which has lately occasioned so much excitement. It was at this meeting that Mr. O'Connell first appeared as a political character.

At this period, although the penal laws against the Catholics had, by degrees, been repealed, until all those of a severe or oppressive character had been removed, yet the Catholic gentry were still excluded from the legislature, and from holding any office of trust under government, and also

from all municipal corporations; they therefore became urgent in demanding the fulfilment of a promise which had been made to them by Mr. Pitt, the then prime minister of England, when he proposed the union, that he and his colleagues would use their utmost endeavours to obtain full emancipation for the Catholics, and place them on an equality with the Protestants; but as George the Third so strenuously opposed all further concessions to them, their claims, although favoured by most of the English Protestants, made but little progress during his lifetime. The Catholics, feeling that they had little chance of receiving any support from government, according to the then existing state of affairs, formed themselves into a body, called the Catholic Board, for the purpose of agitating and framing petitions to parliament. This society was suppressed by government, and was afterwards succeeded by the Catholic Association.

George the Fourth, on his accession to the throne, visited Ireland, where he was most enthusiastically received, being the first English monarch, since Richard the Second, who had visited that country in friendship. His presence for awhile lulled the spirit of rancorous party feeling, which, at that period, ran particularly high; but this peace was of short duration, for, in the following year, the Marquis Wellesley, then lord lieutenant, who was supposed favourable to the Catholic party, was openly insulted by a body of young men belonging to the Orange, or ultra-Protestant, party.

The Catholic Relief Bill, as it was called, although presented every session to parliament, was always rejected, until the disturbances in Ireland, under the direction of the Catholic Association, assumed such an organized character, that the duke of Wellington, who was prime minister, and Mr. Peel, the home secretary, considered it prudent to bring

forward the Catholic claims as a government measure, and succeeded in carrying the bill by a large majority.

It appeared now as if Ireland had received its full measure of justice, and strong hopes were entertained of the benefits which would attend the tranquillity which it was confidently expected would follow; but the well-wishers of Ireland were destined to be disappointed, for in less than two years after, the public mind was excited by interested leaders, and unthinking people were induced to assemble and clamour for a repeal of the Union, to the very great interruption of business, and injury to trade. This movement, however, soon died away, in consequence of the accession of the late whig ministry to office, who, being of the same politics, and acting in unison with Mr. O'Connell, the chief promoter of the agitation, Ireland enjoyed some years of quiet, during which every thing seemed to prosper.

Owing, however, to a change in the ministry, Mr. O'Connell and his friends were again dependent for power on the voice of the people, who were, unfortunately, easily induced by leaders, whose purposes it answered, to imagine that they would enjoy a better government if they had a parliament separate from that of England; and they still urge as reasons for this wish, that they are not fairly represented, in point of numbers, in the legislative assembly, and that the nobility and gentry of Ireland are drawn to London, instead of Dublin; that, in consequence of this, the arts and manufactures of Ireland languish; and they also think that the tithe tax should be abolished.

However, they unfortunately forget to take into account the advantages they have derived from the partnership with England. Even before the parliaments were united, large sums were voted every year by the English parliament for the purpose of making roads, and carrying on other public works, in addition to those voted by the Irish parliament, so that Ireland was even then advancing in improvement,

and every year since the Union, extensive grants have been voted for the purpose of constructing harbours, lighthouses, &c. Half-a-million was expended on Howth harbour in 1807; since which, a million has been laid out on the magnificent harbour of Kingstown. In Dublin, spacious streets and beautiful buildings have, as it were, grown up since that period, while in many parts of the kingdom, a wild tract of country has been changed into a handsome town. Clifden, for instance, which yielded in 1814 no revenue whatever, now produces £7,000 annually. Add to these benefits, the circumstance that Ireland is more lightly taxed than any portion of the United Kingdom; that she pays no income tax, window-tax, nor dog tax; nor any tax on horses, servants, or armorial bearings; and we cannot but wonder that the Irish should desire a change. Owing to there being a greater number of the military stationed in Ireland, in proportion to its size, than in any other part of the united kingdom, a considerable sum of money is laid out with the Irish agriculturalists and shopkeepers; and we have also to consider that, on a late inquiry, it was satisfactorily proved that there were more important offices, civil and military, held by Irishmen in the United Kingdom, than either by English or Scotchmen, in proportion to the numbers of each people.

The question of petitioning parliament for a repeal of the legislative union, has been, from time to time, revived, and it was agitated more vigorously than ever, and reached its height in the year 1843, when it assumed a really alarming aspect, from the assemblages of vast multitudes, called "monster meetings," or, as they were styled by the friends of repeal, "demonstrations." At length, these meetings becoming formidable, government considered it prudent to stop their further progress, and, accordingly, when in the month of October of the same year, a great meeting was appointed to take place at Clontarf, a town about two miles

distant from Dublin, and famous for the great victory obtained over the Danes, in 1014, by Brien Boru, a proclamation was issued, forbidding it; the neighbourhood was occupied by a military force; and no regular meeting took place, though a large concourse of persons assembled, who were drawn thither by curiosity to see what would be the result: the day, however, passed off quietly.

The next step was the arrest of Mr. O'Connell, the leader of the movement, and of seven other gentlemen who had rendered themselves conspicuous during the progress of the agitation, who were all prosecuted by the crown on charges of sedition and conspiracy, of which they were found guilty, and, after an interval, were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. During this interval, Mr. O'Connell visited London, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm, both in the House of Commons, and at several public meetings which he attended during his stay. Shortly after his return to Dublin, he, and his fellow traversers, were placed in the custody of the governor of the Richmond Penitentiary, Dublin. During the time of their confinement, an appeal against the validity of the verdict found against them was heard in the House of Lords, and three out of five law lords, decided in their favour, when they were set at liberty. The event was celebrated with illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy, by the repeal party all over Ireland, and by a public procession in Dublin.

From that time to the year 1845, no attempt to carry the agitation to its former height, has been made, and Mr. O'Connell is reported to have said, that for months he could not sleep from dread of the consequences which might ensue. The money required for the purpose of carrying on the agitation is paid by the people in such sums as they can afford to give; and the greater part of it is collected at the doors of the Catholic chapels, and is called the repeal rent. Another fund is collected in the same manner, and is called

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the O'Connell compensation fund; this sum generally averages between £15,000 and £18,000 at each collection, and is given to Mr. O'Connell as a kind of recompense to him for having abandoned his profession, by which it is calculated he used to realize about £6,000 annually.

As the chimera of Repeal appears to be gradually subsiding, the last barrier to improvement is we trust removed. The only remnant of what might be considered a reasonable ground of complaint has been remedied by the new municipal laws, or those laws which regulate the government of cities and towns, by the appointment of responsible magistrates and officers. By this act, the people are no longer separated into two parties, but Catholics and Protestants enjoy the same privileges in the appointment of their local magistrates.

The last measure adopted by the United Parliament for the benefit of Ireland, has been an act for the better carrying out the intention of pious and charitable persons, who may leave bequests or donations for religious purposes; as it frequently happened that such funds fell into the hands of persons who applied them very differently from what was originally intended. Every bequest of this kind is now placed under the control of ten Commissioners, composed of judges, bishops, and other gentlemen of rank and consideration; one half of whom are Protestants, and the other half Catholics. The act applies to all religious denominations.

The various efforts made for the improvement of the country, aided by the influence of education, together with the effect of abstinence from spirituous and fermented liquors, have within the last few years rendered crimes of a serious nature of much rarer occurrence in Ireland. To these we may add, that the facilities afforded for communication between Ireland and England, will every day increase that kindliness of feeling which invariably exists whenever the

inhabitants of the two countries have an opportunity of meeting.

In regard to education, a considerable improvement has for some time been in progress, owing to the establishment of national schools on liberal principles over the whole of the country, for the instruction of the poorer classes of children: for although there have been free schools in Ireland since the time of Queen Elizabeth, they have never been conducted in such a manner as to render them of much service to the people in general. Most of the convents have schools attached to them, in which the monks and nuns give instruction gratuitously.

Some years since, there were itenerant schoolmasters in Ireland, who went from parish to parish in the summer time, keeping school in dry ditches, covered with heath and furze. These seminaries were called "hedge schools," but as a ditch could not answer the purpose of a school-room in winter, the tutor perambulated from house to house, offering his services for his food and lodging. Although many of the hedge schoolmasters were ignorant persons, there were others amongst them who possessed much classical knowledge, which is evidenced by the circumstance of many successful candidates for distinction in the universities of Ireland, having received the rudiments of their education from travelling teachers of the above description,

About the year 1814, a parliamentary grant was voted for the purpose of promoting the general instruction of the people. The course of instruction given in the schools of the National Board, is of a much more extensive character than any which has been hitherto attempted. The National Board of Education has been established with the view of giving satisfaction to all parties, by having its directors composed of gentlemen representing the various Christian sects in Ireland, the Protestant and Catholic archbishops of Dublin being numbered amongst them. Care is also taken

that the children receive religious instruction from clergymen of the persuasion to which they belong, and if any of them should be orphans, their religious instructors are chosen by their nearest relatives or friends. Yet to some it appears a fault that any religious instruction should be given in the schools, as that part of the training of youth might be better afforded at home, or at their several places of worship. The number of schools amounted, in 1845, to about 3,000, and there were about 400,000 scholars. The schools are open at all times for the inspection of the commissioners, and to the district inspectors appointed by them, and also for that of the public, and the clergy of all denominations. Schools, exactly on the same principle, have been established in prisons and workhouses.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY, FROM 1845 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FOR the purposes of commerce, no country can possess greater natural advantages than Ireland, many of its rivers being of great length, and navigable for considerable distances. The Shannon is the largest river in the United kingdom; it rises at the foot of Culka mountain, in the county of Cavan, and passing by Carrick, Athlone, and other important towns, reaches Limerick, and falls into the Atlantic ocean, about sixty miles from that port, after a course of one hundred and ninety miles, almost the entire of which has been rendered navigable, by the expenditure of grants of money made by the united parliament.

The other extensive rivers are, the Suire, the Barrow, the Lee, the Bann, the Blackwater, the Boyne, and the Slaney, all affording great facilities to the inland trade of the country. The Liffey, although an insignificant stream, yet derives importance from its connection with the city of

Dublin; as does the Lagan, from its connexion with Belfast. Many of the lakes also are of much value in a commercial point of view; one of them, Lough Foyle, being navigated by vessels of five hundred tons burthen. However, reliance has not been solely placed on the advantages of nature, as both rivers and lakes have been rendered more available for the purposes of trade, by the help of art; in addition to which, the entire island has been intersected from east to west, by two lines of canals.

There are, at this period (1845) only two short railways in Ireland, one from Dublin to Kingstown, a distance of five-and-a-half miles; to which are added about two miles of atmospheric railway; and the other, which extends from Dublin to Drogheda, a distance of about twenty miles, and is almost completed; but numerous other railways of considerable extent are in progress.

Ireland contains many extensive and important cities and towns, the most prominent of which is Dublin, the metropolis, which, for its size, contains a greater number of useful and magnificent buildings than any city in Europe. The castle, which is a noble pile of building, is the seat of government, and is situated about the centre of the city. The Castle chapel, which joins it, has been rebuilt within the last century, and is a beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture. The streets and squares are decorated with statues and columns. The statue of Nelson, adjacent to the Post-office, is raised on a column, one hundred and thirty feet high. Dublin contains nineteen parishes, each having a church, and it also possesses two cathedrals, besides many Catholic and dissenting places of worship.

The Phoenix park, adjoining Dublin, is a superb domain, highly cultivated; but, at the same time, its extreme wilderness and romantic appearance is scrupulously preserved. In it is the vice-regal lodge, or summer residence of the viceroy, as also the military magazine, and the Zoological

gardens. The park is a favourite resort of the citizens of Dublin. On the other side of the river, is situated the Royal Kilmainham hospital for superannuated soldiers, on the plan of Chelsea hospital.

The port of Dublin, properly so called, is only calculated for shipping of moderate burthen, but the harbour of Kingstown will afford ample accommodation for a one hundred-and-ten gun ship. The river Liffey is embanked on either side with a noble wall of granite, forming a beautiful and spacious range of quays through the entire city; and is crossed in its course by seven bridges.

With the exception of the public buildings, the houses are mostly of brick, and from three to five stories high. In the old part of the city, the streets are irregular, although those which range parallel to, and at right angles with, the Liffey, are uniform and capacious.

Cork is the next city in importance to Dublin; it is remarkable for its large exports of provisions, amounting during the slaughtering season, to above one hundred thousand head of cattle, besides pigs, &c. The contract for the annual supply of stores for the navy of the United kingdom, is more frequently taken by the merchants of Cork than of any other place.

The other most important cities and towns are Belfast, Londonderry, Limerick, and Galway. The last is a singularly built town, bearing strong evidence of its Spanish origin. The houses, as in Spain, having arched gateways, with an outer and inner railing, broad stairs, and wide entries; and even the small sliding pannel in the great door, through which a stranger may be observed, if necessary, before he is allowed to enter. The resemblance to a Spanish town is still further increased by the number of friars that are seen walking about, especially in the market place; and there are hundreds of little crosses, such as are

found in the burial grounds of Spain, to mark where the ashes of the dead repose.

The population of Ireland may be divided into three distinct classes, which, however, are gradually intermingling, and, in the course of time, will probably lose all distinction, and be regarded together as one race. Ulster having been colonized by the Scottish Lowlanders, retains to the present day not only the habits and feelings of that people, but also their religion, which is Presbyterian, and even the peculiar accent in speaking the English language. There are comparatively few Roman Catholics in this part of Ireland; but there is a large proportion of Episcopalians, besides dissenters of different denominations. The population of Leinster is, for the most part, descended from English settlers, with the exception of the agricultural labourers, who are generally of Celtic descent; but Munster and Connaught are still principally inhabited by the descendants of the original Irish people.

The soil of Ireland, generally speaking, consists of a fertile loam, with a rocky substratum; but its depth in most cases is rather inconsiderable, and in some localities, rocks appear even at the very surface; but, notwithstanding this, Ireland possesses, in proportion to its surface, more cultivatable land than either England or Scotland, almost the whole of which is of such a quality as to yield excellent crops, with little cultivation. Sand does not exist except on the sea shore, and clay is not met with near the surface of the soil. In many parts of the country, the land yields a luxuriant herbage without any trouble on the part of the farmer. The county of Meath, in particular, is distinguished by the richness and fertility of its soil; and in Limerick and Tipperary, there is a dark, friable, sandy loam, which, if preserved in a clean state, will yield crops of corn several years in succession.

In most parts of Ireland, the agricultural implements, as

the plough, the spade, the flail, &c. are of a rather rude construction, and the operations of husbandry in a backward state. The fallows are not well attended to; three ploughings are in general considered sufficient; and owing to the imperfect construction of the plough, the ground is at the end, in most cases full of weeds. The Irish farmers are most successful at trenching; they form the land into beds, and shovel out a deep trench between them, throwing up the earth.

Wheat is not generally an article of cultivation, as the Irish wheat is usually of inferior quality to the English. Great attention is paid to the cultivation of barley; but oats is the species of grain most extensively raised, there being, in fact, just ten acres of oats raised for one of any other grain. The crop in which the Irish farmer holds the superiority is that of potato, the Irish potatoes being the best in the world.

In the farming operations of Ireland, the dairy is decidedly the best managed, and its produce the most profitable. The average number of cows on a dairy farm amounts to thirty or forty, three acres of tolerable land being thought sufficient for the maintenance of each cow; four good cows yield about a quarter of a hundred weight of butter in a week. The Irish are particularly cleanly in making butter, and their mode of salting is considered to be the most perfect that is practised. The export trade in this article is very extensive.

The grazing of cattle is not, as in England, connected with the regular rotation of crops, but is carried on in a district exclusively devoted to the breeding of cattle. The sheep, which are of the long woolled kind, and very large, are never kept in sheep folds, and are hardly ever fed on turnips.

In Ulster, the land is usually planted first with potatoes, next with linseed for a crop of flax, and then with oats; and

so on, until it is exhausted, when it is allowed to lie fallow. Cows, sheep, goats, and poultry, are then turned out on it, perhaps for two or three years.

In many parts of Ireland, the old custom of yoking the horses by the tail to the plough, is still continued, notwithstanding that it is contrary to act of parliament. Among very small farmers, the spade culture is most in use; but on land where ploughing is necessary, three or four small farmers will join together in partnership to work a plough, the horse and the plough being provided between them.

Among the manufactures of Ireland, that of linen is the most important, although of later date than the manufacture of wool. The woollen fabrics of Ireland are chiefly of the stronger and coarser sorts, the Irish not being so successful in the manufacture of fine cloth; but their flannels and blankets are of excellent quality, and the spinning of wool into yarns is carried on very extensively in the north-west part of the island; the manufacture of woollen stuffs is also carried on to some extent.

The manufacture of linen is chiefly confined to Ulster, and from Belfast it is exported to London, and all the principal cities of Europe, as well as to North and South America, and lately to China. The whole country, from Antrim to Belfast, is studded with the handsome residences of the linen merchants, to which bleaching greens are attached, giving a lively appearance to the country, as the white stripes of linen contrast pleasingly with the greenness of the grass. Most of the flax seed used in Ireland at present is grown at home.

The flax fabrics of Ireland consist chiefly of fine and coarse linens, canvas, sacking, and damask. The mode of conducting this branch of industry has, within the last few years, become altogether changed: formerly, each weaver grew his own flax, prepared it for the loom, and when woven, brought it into the public market on a certain day in

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the week, and sold it. At present, he either takes out work from a master manufacturer, and does it at home, or he goes into a factory to work, on the English system. He generally succeeds in earning the most money by the latter plan. In consequence of the introduction of machinery, the women do not obtain so much employment as formerly at spinning, but many hundreds work at their own homes, embroidering and working fancy muslins, the manufacture of which is also carried on to a considerable extent. Since the Union, there have been established several large cotton factories.

Distillation and brewing are extensively pursued in Ireland; the "Irish stout," or double X, and the whiskey, being much esteemed in England, and the former is largely exported to the East and West Indies.

There is no other manufacture of such magnitude as to entitle it to a distinctive national character, yet every branch of industry pursued in England is carried on to a certain extent; and although the manufactures of Ireland are on a limited scale when compared with those of the sister isle, there are many articles in the making of which the Irish are very successful, among which may be mentioned those of cutlery, hats, and watches. The Irish loom also is celebrated for the manufacture of *tabinet*, a kind of material composed of silk and worsted, and resembling brocade.

Fishing is a branch of industry which has always been followed by a portion of the peasantry of Ireland, of whom there are both sea and inland fishermen. The trout and salmon of Ireland are distinguished both for size and taste; the salmon are caught by wiers, stake nets, and other contrivances; the trout, with the rod and line. The eels, also, which are very delicate, and attain to great size, are caught in eel wiers; a practice little known in England. In the year 1809, a board of commissioners was appointed by the united government for the promotion of

the Irish fisheries, an annual grant of £5,000 was placed at their disposal, for the erection of small piers, fitting out commodious boats, and providing other facilities for making fish an article of commerce; the curing and preserving of which is extensively practised, and on such an improved plan, that it forms a most profitable article of merchandize.

The religion established by law in Ireland is that of the church of England, or Episcopalian form of worship; but the majority of the working people are Roman Catholics: there is also a large proportion of Presbyterians, Methodists, and other sects. The clergy of each denomination are supported by voluntary contributions, except those of the Presbyterian, or Scottish church, who receive the Regium Donum, or Royal Bounty, and the Episcopalian clergy, who are provided for by law, as in England. The provision made for the latter is, in cities, a rate levied on each house, and called "Ministers' money," and in the country, by the payment of tithes, or tenths; which tax has been reduced about one-third, and converted into a rent charge, to be paid by the land-owners instead of the tenants. The aggregate revenue of the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland is estimated at about £1,000,000 per annum.

The Presbyterian clergymen are ordained, as well as governed, by the synod of Ulster; and the clergy of the various denominations of dissenters abide by the forms prescribed by their various church governments.

Previous to 1845, the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland received their education, and took holy orders at the College of Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, which was established for that purpose in the year 1798, and was principally supported by an annual grant from the united government. The establishment accommodated about four or five hundred students, each of whom paid ten pounds, as deposit for medical aid, on entering, and provided himself with clothes, books, bedding, &c.

A bill was brought into parliament in the early part of the session of 1845, by Sir Robert Peel, for an increase of the grant to the Maynooth College, which met with a strong opposition on the part of those who were of opinion that the endowment of a Catholic college must be prejudicial to the interests of the Protestant religion. But, on the other hand, it has been considered that, as the great mass of the Irish population is under the entire guidance and instruction of the priests, it is highly necessary that the latter should be men of liberal education, which, at present, is not generally the case, as the college was too poor to afford the means of fitting them for their profession. The question was decided in favour of the bill, which passed both houses of parliament by a large majority.

The lord lieutenant, as the representative of royalty, is the head of the executive power in Ireland, and is assisted in the business of the government by the Privy Council. The lord chancellor of Ireland is the head of the law department; besides whom, there are a master of the rolls, two lords chief justices, a chief baron, and other judges. The military in Ireland are under the control of the commander-in-chief for that portion of the united kingdom; and the minor details of law and government are carried on by the local magistracy.

The civil force, or police of Ireland has, for some time, been placed on such a footing as renders it a highly efficient and useful body. It consists of two distinct establishments. One is the metropolitan police, which is intended for the protection of Dublin and its environs. The policemen belonging to this establishment resemble those of London, both as regards their organization and their dress. The other is called the county constabulary, and is composed of horse and foot police constables. The latter are of a more military character; their dress being of dark green, made like that of a soldier, and they are armed with swords and carbines.

IN the cities and extensive towns of Ireland, a very considerable advance has taken place, within the last few years, in the condition and habits of the working classes, which is owing, in a great measure, to the peaceful state of the country during the administration of the Whigs, and to the establishment of mechanics' institutions, and other societies intended for their improvement. The wages of the Irish mechanics, of course, vary according to the branch of trade at which they are employed; but, in general, they are such as to enable them to live comfortably.

In large towns, there is not much of national peculiarity observable, as the shops and the habits of the people are almost similar to those of England. There is, however, a difference in some of the objects, which attract the attention of a stranger, who will not fail, among other novelties, to be struck with the appearance of the Irish jaunting-cars; these are of two kinds, one is called the outside car, and consists of two seats, on which the passengers sit back to back; in the centre is a space, called the well, which is used for the reception of luggage, or any thing else that may be required; the driver sits on a dicky in front of the vehicle; these cars have two wheels, and are drawn by one horse. The other, which is called the covered car, resembles a small close carriage, with the door at the back. In this car, the passengers sit face to face. It is also drawn by one horse, and has but two wheels. Cars of both kinds are the only hackney conveyances used in Ireland, at present, the covered car having completely superseded the hackney coaches of former days. Many of them are made

in a superior style, and used as private vehicles by such of the gentry as do not keep carriages, as well as by respectable tradespeople. Mr. Bianconi, an Italian, introduced them on the roads in the south of Ireland some years ago, where they are used as stage cars, and are drawn by two, and sometimes three horses. They are not used for this purpose in any other part of Ireland, the usual mode of making long journeys being by mail and stage coaches, and, on the line of canals and large rivers, by packet boats, drawn by horses. On the Shannon, iron steam boats have been introduced.

As the reader is already acquainted with the terms on which the Irish farmers hold their lands, he will understand that their profits cannot equal those of the English farmers, whom they are obliged to undersell, in order to find a market for the produce of their farms; and by this means they are enabled to export a large quantity of cattle and butter to England. The farm-houses of Ireland are of various kinds, that of the middling, working farmer is generally ill-built of grey stone, and is thatched, and not unfrequently slated, slating having come much more into use than formerly. It consists generally of one large common room, or kitchen, with a hard, clay floor, in which are performed all the domestic arrangements, and in which the family and labourers assemble to their meals. Branching from the principal room are small rooms, used as bed-rooms, store-rooms, dairy, &c. The furniture in most cases simply consists of a deal table, a few chairs, and stools, an iron pot or two, a spinning wheel, and a dresser, containing delf cups and saucers, pewter platters, and wooden noggins. The fuel being usually of turf, an open hearth supplies the place of a stove, the pots being suspended over the fire from a hook in the chimney. The farmers, with the exception of those who are very poor, have feather beds, and neat chequer-patterned bed curtains. There are seldom any rooms

up stairs, and the loft, formed by the shape of the roof, is reached by means of a short ladder.

The outside of an Irish farm-house is by no means a picturesque object. It exhibits no pretty flower plots in front, or roses and honeysuckles creeping in at the windows, and no luxuriant bunches of grapes encumbering a neat trellis-work. The farm-yard, or bawn, is in front of the house, and its only ornaments are dung hills, pools of stagnant water, cows, pigs, and poultry. The farmers prepare their own bread, which they make in the shape of flat cakes, and bake on a griddle; the usual breakfast consists of what is called stirabout, made of oatmeal and water, which is boiled until very thick, and then poured out on a plate, and when it becomes settled, it is eaten with milk or butter; however, tea and coffee are coming much more into use than formerly.

Poverty and wretchedness prevail to a great extent among the agricultural labourers; and, notwithstanding that many measures intended for their benefit have been passed by parliament, their means of gaining a livelihood are very precarious. The poor laws, having in the year 1839, been introduced, the whole country, like that of England, is now divided into districts, called unions, and more than a hundred workhouses have been built in different places. These establishments are supported by a rate levied on the householders, in proportion to their property; but the number of persons who can afford to contribute to the support of the poor, are so few in comparison to the number to be maintained, that the tax often falls heavily on those who can scarcely keep themselves and their family from starvation. The justice and humanity of these laws cannot be disputed; but, unfortunately, they have not been contrived in a way that gives satisfaction either to the taxpayer or the recipient of relief. However, some good, notwithstanding their alleged imperfection, has resulted from them; as a

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great number of aged persons, unable to work, as well as orphan children and idiots, who used to rove about the country in a shocking state of destitution, have found an asylum in the Unions.

An agricultural labourer cannot, on an average, obtain work for more than one-third of the year. When he is employed, his wages vary from six-pence to ten-pence a day, with his food; but where he is not fed, he has from ten-pence to one shilling and four-pence; the women seldom go out to work in the fields, but generally remain at home and employ themselves in spinning or knitting, and attending to the family, a few fowls, and the cow, or the pig. At some periods of the year, the boys get employment in picking potatoes, removing small stones from the ground, or frightening the birds from corn-fields; and they are paid at the rate of from two-pence to four-pence a-day.

Nothing can be more miserable than the cabin of an Irish labourer, the walls being generally of mud, and the roof of straw thatch; the smoke partly escapes from the door, and partly from a hole made in the roof, over which is sometimes stuck an old basket, with the bottom out. The cabin seldom has any windows, and is often built in so strange a situation, that the roof is on a level with the road. The furniture is in character with the dwelling, consisting of a table, a chest, two or three stools, and an iron pot for boiling potatoes. The beds are of oat straw, with very scanty covering, over which are spread the women's large cloaks, and the men's dud eens, or great coats. When the labourers diet at home, their food seldom consists of anything except potatoes, with salt and buttermilk; and on Sundays, a little bacon and cabbage; when dieted by a farmer, they are better fed, as most of the farmers consider that they cannot do so much work if not provided with good food. In the greater number of instances, the cottier has a small piece of land attached to his

cabin, to the extent of an Irish acre, (about an acre and a quarter English) on which he grows potatoes, oats, and cabbages. If he cannot have the land with his cabin, he contrives to rent a piece in the neighbourhood, which he cultivates when he is not employed by others. The peasant is considered poor indeed who is obliged to go to market for either potatoes or oatmeal. Every labourer provides himself with one or two pigs, which, in general, dwell with his family in the cabin; they also contrive, if possible, to have a cow; and if not a cow, one or two goats; for they depend much upon skimmed milk for the children. When they keep a cow, the wife takes the butter to the market-place of the next town, for sale. Their eggs are generally bought by boys, called runners, who go about to collect them for the egg merchants, who send them to England.

The peasantry of Connaught, who are the poorest in Ireland, cross over to England to assist in getting in the harvest; and the sum of money with which they return enables them to pay the rent of their cabin, and to support them through the winter. During their absence, their families lock up their cabins, put the key in the thatch, and go about the country to beg. Few of these poor creatures have land, or any thing beyond their reaping-hook, and the clothes that cover them.

That portion of the peasantry who devote themselves to fishing, forms a distinct class of people, among whom the fishermen of Galway are peculiar, as they dwell together in a kind of seclusion, inhabiting a town of cabins on the coast, called Chaddagh, of which they form the entire population. They marry with each other, and never mix with the people of the neighbourhood. The women spin, and make nets; and the men are paid for their labour by a share of the fish they take, the remainder belonging to the owners of the boat. These boats are called corrahs.

The numerous hardships to which the agricultural popu-

lation of Ireland have been at all times exposed, have never diminished their fondness for merry-makings, such as fairs, and the festivals called patterns, which word is a corruption of patron, and means a festival in honor of the patron saint of the peculiar holy well where it is held. There are many such wells in Ireland, to which the peasantry, for miles round, repair to perform their devotions; after which, they enjoy themselves with dancing, and whatever refreshments they can procure.

A fair commences with the business of buying and selling; after which, it is made a scene of amusement, and, until lately, owing to the habits of intemperance that prevailed to a very great extent, it too often ended in a scene of riot and bloodshed, because, in consequence of the feeling of clanship that existed in Ireland, there were continual family or faction feuds, which only slumbered while the people were sober, but were sure to break out with redoubled fury when they became excited with intoxicating liquors. The fair, therefore, almost invariably terminated with a general battle, in which lives were frequently lost, as the combatants were always armed with heavy sticks or clubs, called alpeens, which were prepared from a young ash sapling, a branch from a tree not being considered sufficiently tough. When a suitable stick had been procured, it was carefully rubbed with hog's lard or tallow, after which it was put up in the chimney, and greased twice every day, until it was considered fit for use; a hole was then made in the thickest end of it, into which was poured some lead; and to the other end was fastened a leather thong, in order that it might be twisted round the wrist whilst in use. It thus became a very formidable weapon in the hand of a violent and powerful man; and an Irish countryman seldom goes out for a day's amusement without one of them. Happily, now, the Irish peasantry are less intemperate and violent than formerly, and such disgraceful scenes are seldom wit-

nessed at present; an improvement that is owing to the influence of education, to a better example on the part of the higher orders, and also to the increase of the total abstinence societies, which have effected a great change in the moral conduct of the working classes. Whiskey, in which they used to indulge too often to excess, was first made in Ireland about the middle of the twelfth century; and occasions of sorrow as well as of joy, christenings, marriages, and deaths, were formerly made excuses for inebriety.

On the event of a death, a peculiar custom is still observed, that of *waking* the body, as it is called. When a person dies, the neighbours assemble at the house in which the decease took place, where a singular medley of sorrow and merriment ensues. The corpse, having been placed on a bed, is decorated with flowers, ribbons, and white linen; at each side of the head, stand two aged women, called *keeners*, from the duty of singing the *coine*, or Irish death song, being performed by them: nothing can be more dismal than this chaunt, which rises at times into a wild, unearthly shriek, and again sinks into a low whisper, all the intervening cadences being expressive of the feelings of the *keeners*, and of the circumstances connected with the life and death of the departed. Various groups are to be seen scattered throughout the house, some uttering the most sincere lamentations, while others are engaged in playing at forfeits, cards, backgammon, &c.; and this scene continues for two or three days and nights. Among very poor peasants, the guests are expected to bring refreshments with them; but when the friends of the deceased party are respectable farmers, all are regaled at the expense of the host, and every one is welcome.

Temperance societies were founded in Ireland previously to the year 1830, by the Quakers, but did not become general until they obtained the co-operation of the Rev.

Theobald Mathew, a Roman Catholic clergyman, who, from the year 1838, devoted his entire time, and expended his fortune, in endeavours to promote their establishment. He was held in great veneration by the Irish people both in England and Ireland, and by his example and exhortations produced the happiest effects.

The death of Mr. O'Connel, in 1847, put an end to the hopes so long entertained by his party with regard to the repeal of the union; but there were not wanting other disturbers, who, without his talent, had the same propensity to create disaffection among the people, and incite them to acts of open rebellion. The most conspicuous of those leaders was Mr. Smith O'Brien, M. P. for Limerick, who, in conjunction with a newspaper editor, named Mitchell, and some other persons, made an attempt, at the time of the French revolution in 1848, to induce the provisional government of the new republic of France, to send a military force into Ireland, for the purpose of assisting the disaffected party to establish a republican form of government in that country. The proposal was treated with contempt, and soon afterwards Mr. O'Brien and his colleagues were arrested on a charge of high treason, tried at Dublin, and sentenced to death; which sentence was, however, commuted to transportation for life. This punishment will, it is hoped, deter others from similar mischievous endeavours to increase the misery of the Irish people, by leading them to rebel against a government that is far better for them than any they could substitute for it.

Immense sums of money have been voted at different times by the Parliament, for bettering the condition of Ireland and its people; and many acts have been passed within the last few years with the same object; among which is a very important one, allowing the sale of encumbered estates. Before this law was made, many families were involved in difficulties, in this way: numerous farmers, and

even many large landowners, had, for a very long time, been in the habit of mortgaging their estates; that is, borrowing sums of money on security of their lands, whenever they wanted it; perhaps to marry, or to settle the younger branches of their families; some had recourse to this expedient so frequently, and to such an extent, that they became unable to pay the interest of the money borrowed out of all the rents they could in any way obtain from their tenants; and, as the law then stood, the estates thus encumbered, being entailed, that is, settled so as to come after the death of the then possessor to the next heir at law, could not be sold. To remedy this desperate state of things, a new act, as I have said, was passed in 1848, making it lawful for landowners to sell such deeply mortgaged estates, and thus they became enabled to pay off the debts, and, in most cases, to realise a sum of money, or retain a portion of the land, for themselves and their heirs; and thousands of such encumbered estates have been, and are still being sold, under this law, to English and Scotch, as well as to Irish families, to the benefit of their nominal owners, and of agriculture. Another Act of Parliament provided additional funds, which landowners might borrow, to pay the cost of draining lands, and other works of public utility: another, extended the powers given by former acts to enable guardians of the poor to purchase lands for the employment of the needy and able-bodied in agricultural work; laws were made about the same time for the protection and relief of those poor people, who, being unable to pay their rents, were turned out of their dwellings.

In 1846 and the three following years, the deepest distress and suffering were spread over the country, caused by the almost total failure of the potato crops; in consequence of which, large subscriptions were raised in England for the temporary relief of the people, while the united government

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adopted measures for their more permanent benefit, by advancing several millions of money to be expended on public works; so that there should be employment for those who were willing to labour. In 1847, not less than seven hundred thousand men were engaged at the public expense on various roads, railways, and new buildings, in Ireland; by which labour and outlay the country was much improved. About one fourth only of the country was then under culture, the largest proportion of cultivated land being in Ulster, which is the chief province for the growth of flax and oats, the latter being more extensively cultivated in Ireland than any other kind of grain.

The extension of railroads through every part of Ireland to all the principal ports, has already done much towards increasing the commerce of the country, and thereby promoting its prosperity. Most of them have been commenced since the year 1845, and the two principal lines are now (December 1851,) nearly completed. These are the Great Southern and Western, and the Midland Great Western. The former runs from Dublin to Tipperary, and thence north west to Limerick and Cork; and the latter traverses Ireland from east to west, passing through all the great cattle feeding districts to Galway; bringing a large tract of country into commercial importance, and facilitating the passage to America. Most of the great towns in the north of Ireland are connected by railways either completed or in progress; and in the south there are lines in various directions from Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and other large cities.

Several other lines are projected, and some of them will be carried out; but the effects of these great works, already completed, cannot but be vastly beneficial to the country in every way. The great landed proprietors will more frequently visit their Irish estates; indeed many persons of wealth and influence have, since the improvement in travel-

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ling, gone to reside in the country; and all branches of trade and commerce are steadily increasing.

The institution of national schools has been already spoken of, and their numbers have considerably increased within the last few years. The last report of the Commissioners of Irish national education stated the gratifying fact, that, at the end of the year 1850, there were 4,547 schools in operation; with 511,287 scholars, or more than half a million of children, on the rolls.

There were, however, still wanting in Ireland the means of educating the middle classes, in a suitable manner; to meet which necessity, a sum of £100,000 was assigned by Parliament, soon after the grant to Maynooth, for establishing three new colleges, one at Cork, one at Belfast, and one at Galway. These are called Queen's Colleges, and were opened in October 1849, all religious sects being admitted without distinction; and as these seminaries can confer degrees, like the English Universities, they will be of immense benefit to the Irish people, especially as law is one of the branches of study pursued there; so that young men of these schools, qualifying themselves for that profession, will have advantages over the students at either Oxford or Cambridge.

Notwithstanding all these and many other improvements that are now going on in Ireland, as well as the favourable state of the crops in the last and present years, there is a vast deal of poverty and misery, among the very lowest orders of the agricultural population, owing to the uncertainty of their employment, and the lowness of their wages; which poverty and misery are considerably increased by the farmers in the south and west provinces emigrating in such large numbers, that villages and whole districts appear almost entirely depopulated. The chief cause of this continued tide of emigration is the increasing intercourse of

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all the ports of the united kingdom with Canada and the states of America; and to large sums of money, and strong invitations, sent by the relatives and friends of Irish people already settled in those countries; as well as to the cheapness of the passage. Other motives for emigration may be named, such as the disinclination of many of the people, in the south and west parts, to adopt improved modes of cultivation, or to pay the rates levied for the support of the poor, and the repayment of loans, advanced by government, for the building of poor-houses.

Whether the departure of a great portion of the native population will prove of ultimate benefit or injury to the country, has yet to be seen; but it cannot be doubted that the prospects of Ireland, as well as its actual condition, are gradually and materially improving; for besides establishments for manufactures and commerce, great and extensive employment is given in building improved dwellings, especially in the north; even the peat bogs of Ireland are now being made a source of profit; hope therefore may be entertained that the beneficial progress of education, the increase of trade, and the extended intercourse of so many parts of the country with each other, and with England, Scotland, Australia, and America, will eventually be attended with the happiest results.

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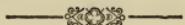
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